THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

September 25, 1948

MUTUALLY MISINFORMED

AN EDITORIAL

Resolutions For S'hai City Council

C. Y. W. Meng

Chengtu Roundup

Richard Wu

Deadlock In France

Jacques Decaux

PEDICAB PUSHERS

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 111 Gold Yuan 60 Cents NUMBER 4

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Bandit Rules

To The Editor:

We *lao pai hsing* are not interested so much in what form of government the ruling class might give us as how much progress they have made in their actions as reflected by that form of government they take pleasure in proclaiming.

If they really were sincere about reform and regarded the people's interest above everything else, China would have long ago been a "Constitutional" nation.

I have heard from a friend who has been a Youth Corps member for many years. He said that he had seen a slip of paper found in the pocket of a captured Communist soldier. The slip consisted of a certain number of items supposed to be the rules for the Communist army. The slip read something like this: 1. No soldier can enter the private house of a *lao pai hsing* in a fighting area except by an order. 2. When quartered in private houses you should not use the same WC as the women. 3. Don't take a bath in the presence of women when you live in a private house. 4. You must be soft-spoken when dealing with the *lao pai hsing*. 5. You should by no means beat the *lao pai hsing*, come what may. It is said that the slightest violation of these rules will merit the severest punishment. Fancy that! These are bandits!

P. Y. W.

Pucheng, Shensi
August 21, 1948

Peace Wanted

To The Editor:

Since the order for bandit suppression was issued, China has been deteriorating as far as the question of its internal situation and public welfare are concerned. There is a reason.

The people's riot is spreading like wildfire and it is in full swing everywhere, especially in Yunnan. We have tangible evidence the issue has been made clear and riot is one of the principles between peace loving people and those who would rule by the sword.

On the contrary, in the anti-Japanese war, which lasted for eight years, Yunnan was at peace. But, nowadays, one of the most beautiful spots in China, with a fine sunny climate, is the scene of banditry, opium smuggling, rebellion, tribal feuding and other activities. Despite the denial of the bureaucrats, the province is going from bad to worse. Because poverty, starvation, misery and fluctuating prices overshadow the nation, it seems that the Yunnanese (including many prominent officials) are casting their eyes on commodity prices rather than on political events.

We sincerely hope that the Constitutional government changes the bandit suppression policy into a bandit-peace policy on the one hand and closes the commercial banks on the other, if we are to save the multitude from their present plight.

In the eyes of Yunnan's intelligentsia, the danger which faces Yunnan today

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is very grave. The people insist that it matters little whether the KMT or the CP run this country just as long as the Civil War is ended.

Y. L. TAN.

Kunming, Yunnan
August 30, 1948

Jefferson's Words

To The Editor:

I consider C.Y.W. Meng's article, "China's Fight Against The Publication Law," in your August 28 magazine a first rate legal documentation, both strong in convictions and fluent in diction.

Let me quote what Julian P. Boyd said in his article, "Subversive Of What?" (*Atlantic Monthly*, August edition) about Thomas Jefferson on the issue of Nicholas Dufief's arrest. Dufief, was an ardent bibliophile, bookseller and an agent of Jefferson's in selling the book, "The Creation of the World," by a French author Regnault de Becourt to Jefferson. Dufief was accused of selling subversive literature, which in reality was an infantile attack on the system of Sir Issac Newton.

"It was an issue as great as the cause of America itself, involving one of the fundamental precepts upon which the philosophy of Jefferson and of his country rested. Jefferson stated, 'I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man. And are we to have a censor whose imprimatur shall say what books may be sold, and what may be bought? It is an insult to our citizens to question whether they are rational beings or not; and blasphemy against religion to suppose it cannot stand a test of truth and reason. If de Becourt's book be false in its facts, disprove them, if false in its reasoning, refute it. But, for God's sake, let us freely hear both sides if we choose.'"

So Thomas Jefferson thought on the issue of Nicholas Dufief's arrest in 1813. It was an insult to American citizenship and philosophy of government and I wonder what Jefferson would think today about what happened to the *Hsin Min Pao* in Nanking this year—after an interval of 135 years. Woe to the depravity of the human mind and to the makers of the "Mundt Bill."

CHINESE JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Chengtu
September 11, 1948

Southwest Provinces

To The Editor:

Some days ago I heard some wonderful and astonishing news from the Chungking Broadcasting station. They said that the Tibetan authorities have constructed a highway from Lhassa, the capital of Tibet, to O-Don-Tse of Wei-Si (a district on the border of Sikang and Yunnan).

It was also reported that the government of Tibet stated that the reason for this was for the development of its communications and commerce. If this is true, it is not only a menace to Sikang but to Yunnan. While our Government exhausts men, money and supplies in the useless fraticidal war, we wish that it would devote more of its efforts toward protecting our Southwest Provinces.

H. S. LING.

Kangting, Sikang
September 1, 1948

No Subsidy

To The Editor:

In the past few months commodity prices soared crazily each day to a new high, and, at the same time, the salaried class greatly suffered from privation. During this period I was obliged to dis-

continue my subscription to the *Review* and some other newspapers—a great loss to my intellectual development and pleasure.

Since the adoption of the new currency system, the treatment of the civil servants has improved but it is still far below the pre-war level. A family of three or four members still cannot keep its head above water. We hope the Government will take drastic measure by employing more economic police to keep prices down.

At the beginning of each term, teachers usually received some money from their students as subsidies because their salaries were submarginal. This summer, the Government regarded such an act as graft and any school that receives such subsidies must be charged with the crime. Of course, no teacher was willing to keep his old post with such scanty pay. Some tried to change their profession while others tried to ask the Government to give some thought to their condition.

As the new currency still cannot cover our cost of living, the Government has informed us that we can receive the Teacher's Research Fee without fear of committing a crime. Actually, there is no difference between the Teacher's Research Fee and subsidies at all. Our Government always contradicts itself and does something very ridiculous.

Herewith, I send you part of my Research Fee and please renew my subscription to your magazine.

HSU SUN-TZE.

Nantung, Kiangsu
September 14, 1948

Taiwan Meeting

To The Editor:

The 15th Anniversary of the Chinese Engineer Association is scheduled to take place in Taipei on October 26 of this year.

Preparations for this event have been proceeding smoothly and it is said that about 1,000 engineers are to arrive from the mainland to attend this meeting. There are about 300 Taiwan engineers who have become new members of this Association. After the meeting, all the members are to travel about the island for their own pleasure.

We hope that this meeting can result in some future benefits for Taiwan and it should remain a fine memory in the minds of all the people who participate.

CHARLES IN.

Taipei, Taiwan
September 11, 1948

Entrance Exams

To The Editor:

I think it would be very interesting to let your readers know about the plight of many middle school graduates. There are 3,000 who this year graduated from senior middle school in Sian alone, not to mention those who come from adjacent districts. Besides five local colleges and a university, only several obscure universities from other provinces held entrance exams here.

These institutions can take in a small number of new students, leaving large numbers of students no chance to receive further education. Of all the said colleges or universities only one or two are worthy of the name. As graduates in Sian have increased in number, the provincial authorities telegraphed many of the leading universities asking them to come to Sian and hold entrance examinations at the end of last semester. But these universities refused to do so under the pretext of communication difficulties.

Some of my school-mates who are fortunate flew to Nanking or Shanghai

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—GEORGE GARDNER.

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to take the exam and have written now and then complaining of their position and saying that they are unfortunate in having graduated from Northwest schools where the educational standards are considered lower than that of the coastal schools. While there is no denying this is true, there are still a great many students whose intellectual attainment is by no means poorer than that of those studying in big cities.

Then why are our educators so cruel as to give us no chance to compete with the east and the south students in examinations? We earnestly hope that the government as well as prominent educators will work out a plan to remedy the irrational examination system insisted upon by many of the comparatively good universities.

CHIA CHUNG-YI.

Chung Cheng Middle School, Sian
August 27, 1948

Disagreement

To The Editor:

A letter in the *Review* under the name, "Requests Truth" in the issue of August 7, and written by Robert Pan in Canton makes the false remarks that nothing can be obtained except false tidings in the Liberated Areas by putting up the common pretext that he is an honest reader of the *Review*. After reading it through, I cannot but raise my pen to pass the writer a severe condemnation because I find it is an entire fraud.

First of all, I must be frank that I am a 15-year-old student without connection with the Communists or with any other party and clique. Though I have never been to the Liberated Areas, yet I know conditions there very well for my uncle has brought me the news. My uncle has been an officer in the government army service for about 20 years. In a battle in the vicinity of Taiyuan, he became a captive of the Red troops, and therefore stayed for some time in the Liberated Areas where he was well treated and enjoyed true freedom doing whatever he pleased.

A month ago, he was helped with money from them to return here. After his return, he told me the above story. According to his opinion, he would not have returned here but the burden of his large family here made it necessary.

From this, one can easily distinguish between truth and falseness. Perhaps my uncle has deceived his nephew with a lie but one cannot help feeling that it is absurd for a person like Robert Pan in Canton who is entirely unfamiliar with the Liberated Areas to talk about something like the Liberated Areas.

FWON-TEUNG HO.

Shanghai
August 24, 1948

Slavs' Slaves

To The Editor:

We have not heard anything about the so-called new Political Conference for several weeks. This does not mean that the Communists have given up their idea regarding this step. On the contrary, they are preparing to establish a united government after calling their new Political Conference. Then, they will hold their so-called National Assembly meeting.

According to some secret information, the Communists took the following steps:

(1) They ordered their members everywhere to elect representatives to attend the "National Assembly" in Harbin and required them to arrive there by September first.

(2) The new Political Conference was to take place at the same time.

(3) Yinkow and Yenan were to be the principal bases for the transportation of the representatives to Harbin.

If this conference is a success it is possible that the Communists will establish a united government of their own in Harbin and that government may receive a temporary kind of recognition from the Soviets.

We people are unable to offer any plan to end the civil war. Meanwhile, the Communists have become a branch of the international Soviets and they have disavowed nationalism and are merely obeying Moscow orders.

If Chinese Communists succeed in establishing a Union of Socialist Soviet China we will become the slaves of Slavs. We must take steps against this happening.

EMTRY.

Kunming, Yunnan
August 16, 1948

Housing Soldiers

To The Editor:

Because of the prevailing lack of cooperation between the people and the army, the authorities of this Province, in an effort to influence the war effort against the Communist bandits, initiated the "Love the Lao Pai Hsing" movement several months ago among its soldiers.

According to the Sian papers, the results have been successful. I, myself, am not concerned with that "campaign" here nor am I as interested in it as I used to be. I only want to report on how the troops are getting on with the *Lao Pai Hsing*, not in the big cities such as Sian but in the countryside and small towns where real conditions can be witnessed and opinions are more worth while.

Let us take Pucheng as an example. The inhabitants in general think that of all the various Army Divisions (the 1st, 17th, 30th, 36th and the 90th) which have been stationed here the 17th and the 30th were the best and the 90th the second best. However, opinions change as quickly as the situation. When the 30th Division came for the first time the people said that the discipline of the troops was good and their treatment of the *Lao Pai Hsing* was not bad. But in the middle of June, they came again and when they left in early July they were unanimously considered to be as bad as bad can be. None of the other divisions are said to be any better and I will take the 30th as an example:

Their treatment of the *Lao Pai Hsing* is like a victor over a vanquished foe. Since they are lodged in private homes, quarrels and rudeness are the order of the day. They will turn people out of their rooms together with all their belongings. When the men come to one's house to look for vacant rooms they will ask a family of seven or eight to occupy two rooms and take the rest for themselves. The moment they get the rooms they ask for more furniture. Even then, from time to time, they come to one's rooms and see if there is anything that they can still use. The writer himself was thus disturbed to a state bordering on madness. For about one month, I could hardly read or write without having these soldiers come by two's and three's to look for vacant rooms. If one is not soft-spoken they might make trouble by forcing the person to occupy only one room with his family instead of two rooms.

Conditions are similar in neighboring towns and perhaps worse in the neigboring countryside. We don't believe such conditions can be improved for the benefit of the *Lao Pai Hsing* because it is an impossibility. We only hope that the Army tries to be more tolerant and not too fastidious when it moves in on the people. China and its people are already destined to suffer and to suffer God only knows how long.

P. Y. W.

Pucheng, Shensi
August 30, 1948

New Understanding

To The Editor:

In the face of what is the order of the day in China I have now come to understand:—

(1) That education and culture won't do unless they prove loyal to the government and bend to the will and demands of party politics;

(2) That no scholars are qualified to be university presidents and school principals except those who are capable of controlling the students' thought and competent in coping with the disturbances of the modern youth and diminishing their conscience and conscientiousness;

(3) That, in order to help carry out the task of thought control, the seats left vacant by dismissed "undesirable" professors and teachers ought to be filled by atomic bomb specialists, especially American military scientists, who must also be expert in amputating the brains of "professional" students; (but so far as the students stationed in colleges and schools by the party in power are concerned, the specialist-professors needn't trouble themselves with the work of operation because there's absolutely nothing in their heads to be amputated);

(4) That students who cry out against our government, against our nice neigh-

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bor the Japanese Empire, and against our best ally the United States are all of them 100 percent lunatics and, logically, have to be sent to concentration camps or murdered or arrested, tried and sentenced before the Special Criminal Court so that the welfare of the nation will not be undermined and the privileges of a sub-colonial state will not be lost;

(5) That justice is indiscrimination; righteousness, instigation; truth, stuff and nonsense; patriotism, disloyalty; demonstration, rebellion; and reason nothing but treason;

(6) That all pilots of state affairs are justified to announce that law is their weapon; red-baiting, their logic; force, their democratic administration; persecution, their constitutional right; national hunger, the very thing they want to cure with the aids from UNRRA; national poverty, the reason why the people have to be given the GY notes instead of the old Fapi in exchange for their labor or the gold, silver and foreign currencies in their hands; national ignorance, the ever-ready subject matter for diplomatic conversation; and national humiliation, the sweet fruits out of farmers' and workmen's sweat and soldiers' and civilians' blood as well as all other sacrifices placed by the people on the altar of the war of liberation;

(7) That Master Chin is ready to make peace and cooperate with Miss Jap under the care of their common fostering mother so that both of the children will live happily together within the "East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" and be the angelic guardians of world peace and security;

(8) That if Wang Ching-wei meets Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the other world, the former will halloo the latter and say: "You see, my policy of appeasing and befriending Japan has turned out quite correct in view of the fact that Uncle Sam is following in my footsteps. A country as small but as highly industrialized and well organized as Japan oughtn't to be denied her rights of expansion. On the other hand, China has become more a liability than an asset to the United States. As is known to everybody, fascism and militarism have only been taking a few years' retirement under the wing of imperialism, they are again coming to the fore. Besides, your "Three Big Policies" aren't any good; they seem to have dropped from a Communist's mouth and, if carried out, must be no less ridiculous than selling China to the Soviets. How can the 450 million patriotic Chinese stand that? So, after all, Comrade Chen Kung-p'o is just as a great a martyr as Abraham Lincoln. Though he died a traitor on earth, yet he will be living a saint-like patriot in heaven for ever and ever. I don't see why you haven't been able to understand the Confucian precept that "the people can only be made to do what you tell them to do without letting them know what to do";

(9) That the Legislative Yuan is a legal organization authorized to give any special power to the constitutional government when emergencies demand it;

(10) That Hongkong is definitely unfair in harboring a swarm of political refugees, including the C.P. spokesmen, who are "bandits" and their "tails" or "spies";

(11) That Gen. Feng Yü-hsiang, who met a mysterious, dramatic death, had been such an awfully big fool as to refuse the offer of one of his old friends, a certain U.S. government official, for his acceptance would naturally mean his personal wealth and power besides the good name of a national hero;

(12) That instead of a government of the people, by the people and for the people, a good government should be one off the people, without the people and against the people.

THE MAN IN THE STREET.

Shanghai
September 20, 1948

Musical Knowledge

To The Editor:

A new teacher came to our school this term and she examined us for our musical knowledge. She was greatly disappointed and told us that we knew nothing about music except singing.

She was quite right for not only are we childish in our knowledge of music but also in other forms of the arts. I believe that this can be said about a great many of China's students. Nobody can deny that this pitiful condition is the result of the poor system of education throughout the nation.

Everybody realizes how important spiritual education is for the young and how necessary it is for a full life. The study of the arts is a part of the education of the spirit therefore, this kind of education is most important.

The more unrest and strife the times the more important is spiritual education. I think that the teaching of the arts is the poorest part of spiritual education in China today and I beg that our Ministry of Education pay attention to this very necessary subject.

LIU SHUI-CHENG.

Chungking, Szechuen
September 16, 1948

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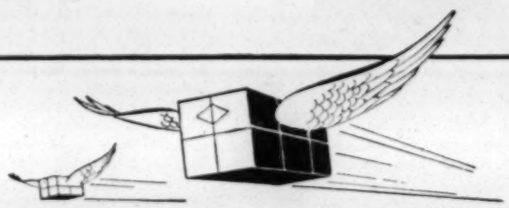

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Old Wine

To The Editor:

Everybody welcomed the new gold dollar notes for they are much easier to carry around. We were also told that after the issuing of these new notes commodity prices would not soar.

Now we are unable to buy good food on the market such as fresh eggs and vegetables. Because prices are being forced, by pressure, to remain the same and the merchants cannot make any profit we can only buy good food on the blackmarket. We do not know whether to blame the gold dollar or the merchant but once more we can use the old saying, "New bottle filled with old wine."

FEI LIANG.

Wukiang, Kiangsu
September 3, 1948

Wasted Subsidies

To The Editor:

It does not frighten me to behold the unrighteous facts in our present Chinese society but it angers me greatly to meet them in the supposedly democratic school sphere.

In my school a large number of students are fortunate enough to be subsidized by the government in order to help them continue their studies. Yet unfortunately the distribution of the subsidies is handled by the school authorities in a very unreasonable manner.

The authorities give the subsidies to the rich as well as to the poor. As a rule, a student who is a KMT member is a definite receiver of these subsidies. Some dishonest students get their subsidies by bribing the authorities or because of personal relations with them.

Alas! I have seen corruption invading the sphere of education.

In many cases the so-called rich students are not rich at all and certainly are not richer than the Government-supported students. The former can usually obtain little money from home while the latter have two sources of funds. They have surplus money as well as the subsidies. They spend their money lavishly but still are not grateful to the government which gives to them. They are like somebody who is thirsty but does not know the value of water.

The chief result of all of this is that the subsidies are a waste of national money and the cause of corruption in the minds of many youths.

NATIONAL KIANGSU MEDICAL COLLEGE STUDENT

Chingkiang, Kiangsu
September 18, 1948

Lanchow Salaries

To The Editor:

Small as the city of Lanchow is, what is happening here is strange indeed.

You and your readers would not believe it if I said that within this city there are five different kinds of salaried classes. The officials and the clerks of the national banks and central offices not only receive high pay but subsidies of various kinds. The professors and the teachers in the national schools can get their full pay at the beginning of the month; and as far as I know they can get their salaries in advance if they need them. Those who teach in the provincial schools would have the same pay as those in the national schools if they were paid on time. However, they are usually not paid on time. The fourth class is the officials of the city government whose salaries are poorer than those of the provincial officials. The fifth, and the lowest, salaried group in Lanchow are the officials serving the district government of Kaolan. (The Kaolan Hsien Yamen is still in the city but it will move to the country some day.) These officials already on small pay can get only two tou of wheat a month which is hardly enough to get along on. Thus, they cannot help admiring the good luck of the "central men" and complaining of their own difficult lot. I often hear them say, "Why are we so unfortunate to be Hsien officials?" Even the runners of the central offices are better off than we are."

Several days ago, the teachers attempted to ask for their back pay. They assembled in the school office. They complained, grumbled and beat their breasts. One declared that he had had no money for several days, while the other said that he would have no flour the next day. But when they were asked to present a petition and sign their names, nine out of ten would not do it. The fear of being fitted with the "red cap" made them shrink back. They dispersed. Some went back to teach while others asked for a leave of absence. From that day on most of the teachers neglected their work. Under such conditions who is the victim? Of course, it is the students.

Dear Editor, have you or your readers ever seen such a place where the workers, who have toiled day and night, dare not ask their employer for their starvation wages. If not, please cast your eyes on this place. You can see it very clearly.

DAVID YU.

Lanchow, Kansu
September 12, 1948

GY In H'kong

To The Editor:

Three weeks after the introduction of a new currency, the Gold Yuan has not proved itself a success. Originally it was intended that one Gold Yuan was good for 75 cents Hongkong money. Today you can give to black marketeers one Hongkong dollar and receive in return one Gold Yuan, although the Hongkong government has tabued the publicity of black market rates as a result of England's Far Eastern Munich policy. And people who have Hongkong dollars are reluctant to part with them. It is expected that when this letter reaches you one can pay one dollar Hongkong for one and half Gold Yuan.

Nanking's critics are insistent that terrorism applied to Shanghai's economic criminals is only the purge of one faction by another. Tu Yueh Sen's influence with the Kuomintang grew out of his gangs' participating in the Generalissimo's slaughtering the Reds in 1927. General Chiang Ching-kuo was then in Moscow, bitterly denouncing his father's betraying of his comrades.

Non-partisan observers even went as far as to conclude that the collapse of the 39 American-armed divisions was due to Young Chiang's pro-Soviet followers who, while the Chiangs may be ignorant of the fact, gave the Communists all details of the Nationalists' movements.

When the late Christian General alleged that the KMT was the best supplier of American arms to the Bolsheviks, he might have known the reason.

Young Chiang's present action in Shanghai, it is thought, may alienate the loyalty of many who otherwise may be useful to the Anti-Cominform purpose.

There is no reason why those who are in now should not be in. The question is that why others who ought to be in too are still out. And why just pick up those who have anti-Communist and pro-American records?

The reply can be sought in the light of the fact that American-returned Chen Kung-po was shot for collaboration while the Japanese-trained Chou Fu-hai was given every chance to live even though the latter did more harm to the Allied cause.

Everywhere in China, America is paying for the murdering of pro-American influence, American guns are being used for the killing of those who made some money out of serving American interests in anti-Comintern enterprises.

PETER H. LONG

Hongkong
September 18, 1948

People's Government

To The Editor:

Your last issue quotes an editorial from the Scripps-Howard *Washington Daily News*, which discusses US "guardianship" of Japan with restrained enthusiasm, and goes on to view with alarm and unconscious irony the setting-up of "a North China People's Government" by Stalin's puppets..... on the basis of their military gains."

Shouldn't the *Washington Daily News*, a journal published in the very citadel of Democracy, rejoice at the establishment of a 'people's government'? If indeed the editor was not cavilling at the people's government, but rather at the role played by 'Stalin's puppets,' I wonder how sure he is of this?

Perhaps he might well bring his chair-warmed mind to China for a look-see, and he might even discover that in present-day China, there doesn't seem to be any other way to set up a 'people's government' than by force of arms. Has the worthy editor ever considered the manner of establishing the Government of the United States? George didn't do it willingly, as I remember from school. Yet look how respectable that revolution became!

POST-LIBERAL.

Shanghai
September 20, 1948

Floors
renovated
by
Electric
Wiring &
Waxing

FESCO
DIAL 12156

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW
密勒氏評論報
A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

The editorial pages present each week the opinions of the editor. The other pages of The China Weekly Review are written by the other members of the staff and the contributing editors who report and interpret the news irrespective of the views expressed in the editorials.

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Mutually Misinformed---I

RELATIONS between China and America are frequently not of the best, especially when a period of mutual misunderstanding occurs. We of course are not referring to official relations, which are normally quite good, but to relations between the two peoples as reflected by press dispatches, personal conversations, etc. It is of course natural that there should be occasional misunderstandings because of the differing cultural and environmental backgrounds of the two peoples. However, at times we are a bit bewildered at the mutual misunderstandings which occur so easily that they almost appear deliberate.

There are two current examples, one of which we shall deal with this week. Last week it was reported in the press that American reaction to Major-General Chiang Ching-kuo's strong speeches warning Shanghai speculators, hoarders and super rich had a very poor reception in America. One "business source" in Washington was quoted by the *Associated Press* as saying, "it is possible the ECA program in China may be affected if the Chinese swing to the left as outlined in young Chiang's speech." Another said, young Chiang "probably is communistically inclined as a result of his long residence in Russia."

It is simply beyond belief that American "business sources" could so misinterpret Chiang Ching-kuo's actions in Shanghai, especially since the press agencies presumably interrogated American businessmen who are supposed to know something about China. While businessmen are traditionally supposed to be rather sketchy as far as political knowledge goes, this generally is not true, particularly in China where the foreign businessman has learned during the past quarter of a century that an intimate knowledge of the political situation is a necessity. American businessmen in Shanghai, for instance, keep abreast of conditions through their trade associations, local publications, etc. It is indeed rare to find an American businessman in Shanghai who does not send regular letters back to his associates in America giving them his "estimate" of the situation, covering all fields.

In our view, there are two main ways of analyzing present conditions. First, this is China's attempt at self-help, urged on her by Stillman and Lapham, who have made it plain that they do not intend to recommend American aid unless the Chinese show that they can produce. One of the most disruptive aspects of the Shanghai situation has been the proclivity for smuggling, hoarding, speculating and black-marketing, and the Government has decided to stop it. Everybody knows that things are frequently ordered to be done or not to be done in this country and the effect is nil. Most observers are also aware that when the Government finally commits itself to undertaking some drastic step, the methods are also drastic. The fact that the current campaign waged by Shanghai's economic czar is the most drastic to date should not occasion surprise since the situation is the most critical one we have faced so far.

Another thing which should be kept in mind is the gradual change in the composition of the Kuomintang as a political party. In the beginning the Kuomintang was a collection of liberals, returned Overseas Chinese, and members of the so-called middle class who were dissatisfied with conditions in China. The more they tried to agitate against the conditions prevailing then, the more convinced they became of the need for drastic changes in Chinese life. However, the party found itself too weak to accomplish anything. At this point the Russian advisers arrived and, with the aid of the more realistic members of the party, the Kuomintang embarked upon a platform of radical revolution. It became a party of the masses, dedicated not only to overthrowing the established government but also to promoting the welfare of the peasants and workers as opposed to the moneyed and propertied classes.

As the party grew in strength and success it discovered, however, a growing opposition from the middle class as well as the wealthy. What's more, the party needed funds to complete its revolution. The Kuomintang became more conservative and middle of the road and entered into a partnership with the rising middle classes and the upper classes. Its enemies became narrowed, consisting of the remnants of the old government and the warlords.

From, say, 1927 until 1937, good relations existed between the bankers, industrialists and middle classes and the Government. However, with the advent of war with Japan and the consequent loss of the developed coastal areas, the Government, located in far off Szechuen, found that the bankers and industrialists could no longer support it sufficiently. Its basis had to be shifted and it was—in two directions. The Government came to rely more and more upon the landlord classes since they were the people from whom support could be most easily obtained. West China landlords rose to new heights of power. They provided the money, the rice and the troops—from among the peasantry—with which the Government fought the war. At the same time the strength of the bureaucracy began to grow. The Government employee became

more of a power than ever before. This was the situation as of VJ Day.

If the war had ended differently, the situation might be something else today. If for example, an American invasion of the China coast had been necessary and the coastal bankers and industrialists had beaten the Government back to the recovered areas, they might have been able to resurrect some of their old power. However, there was no invasion and the war's end caught everybody napping. The Government returned to the coast triumphant, taking over alien property and establishing itself in political and economic control.

Since VJ Day the power of the upcountry landlords has been on the wane. The basis of power today is the Government itself. It has few pacts or partnerships. Nanking ministries, with their thousands of bureaucrats, supported by the Government's soldiery, control the country. The biggest part of the nation's modern type of business is done by the Government, be it banking, manufacturing, mining, communications, or what not. Before 1937, for example, Shanghai bankers were able to exert tremendous pressure upon the Government for or against any proposed financial measures. The Government waited with bated breath to see whether or not Shanghai would support or fight its new laws. Today Nanking issues financial, economic or political decrees and the various sections of the population submit, or at most resist secretly.

When one views this short resume of the Kuomintang's history, is it any wonder that when it was decided to impose drastic measures to bolster the tottering economy, the authorities should not hesitate to go after "big game" in Shanghai? Those who say in wonderment that in arresting people like Tu Vee Pin or Yung Hung-yuan the Kuomintang is attacking its own supporters are slightly out of date. Certainly these people support the KMT as opposed to the Communists, but they are not a sustaining leg without which the Government cannot get along.

* * *

THE idea, expressed by one "business source" in Washington, that Chiang Ching-kuo was about to lead Shanghai into communism, is a bit far fetched. Anyone familiar with the recent history of General Chiang should be aware of the fact that he has stood for efficient and honest administration, but that he cannot be thought of as "red." The fact that he should be so considered, is simply ridiculous. His presence here as economic czar, a position established by the KMT in an effort to prevent economic collapse which might be a forerunner to Communist assumption of control over even larger parts of China, should be ample proof of his political attitude.

The fact that he has made several appeals for support from the workers of Shanghai should be viewed in the light of his current struggle. He has seriously outraged many of the more important financial interests in this city and it is certain that they are doing their best to put pressure on him to soften the regulations. Two outstanding attempts by important personages to intercede for two of the more prominent men arrested met with stinging rebukes which caused considerable loss of "face" in high circles.

Appeals reportedly have been made to people close to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, apparently in vain so far. However, as *Central News* reported some two weeks ago, strong opposition has formed among some of Shanghai's leading figures. It has, for example, been pointed out that if the regulations are maintained in their present severe form, industrialists will not be able to carry on and widespread labor trouble will result. General Chiang replied, most logically, that the Government would operate the factories and immediately began a campaign of speechmaking designed to attract support from laborers and other elements at the lower end of the economic ladder.

* * *

THE Shanghai situation seems to us relatively easy to explain and just as easy to understand. We may miss some of the important details of the intrigue and gossip which go on behind the scenes, but the general picture seems fairly clear.

The Government was facing its greatest crisis as CNC began depreciating in value to the tune of as much as a million dollars a day in relation to the US dollar. Prices were skyrocketing so fast that only hoarders and speculators could keep their heads above water. Industry and normal types of business activity were fast coming to a standstill. America was coming to the aid with the ECA program, but, bitten a few times in the past, was demanding concrete evidence of a serious desire to reform and practice self-help on the part of the Chinese. Something drastic had to be done and there was little time left. New economic regulations were promulgated, a currency conversion was begun and the Generalissimo sent his son to Shanghai, the nation's economic center, to clamp on the lid by any and all methods and at whatever cost was necessary. Some violators were arrested, both for the benefit of public morale and in order to bring the economic chaos to an abrupt end. The Kuomintang, in many ways more powerful than ever before, did not hesitate to penalize an important anti-Communist section of its supporters. The people who a few short weeks ago howled for the Government to do something are now yelping for it to stop. This, also, was to be expected.

We haven't seen the end of things yet, of course. If the present period of grace is not used by the Government to reorganize itself sufficiently to deal with the many problems besetting it, we may expect another and perhaps still another period of chaos, each followed again by reforms initially enforced with police measures. If this Government is destined to fall in the long run, Shanghai especially, but other cities as well, may certainly expect varying periods of strict police rule before the end is reached. The other possibility is that the situa-

tion may be saved by this present period of police rule, combined with American aid and Chinese self help. We will have to wait and see which way the situation develops, but we may be sure it will be along one of these two paths.

One Bright Spot

IT is often difficult to find things about which one can be optimistic during these days of general deterioration. True, the currency has been converted, regulations aimed at stabilizing the economy have been promulgated, but the situation is still touch and go, especially in view of the mounting Communist autumn offensive. As we have pointed out before, however, China's system of communications has stood up remarkably well despite the decay in other fields.

The operation of airlines, railways, telegraphs and posts is at best a complicated affair. The fact that in many ways the Ministry of Communications has improved its various services despite the overall disintegration makes this ministry's record even more remarkable. Much of the credit must of course go to the present minister, General Yu Ta-wei, but a lot of it stems from the fine spirit of service evidenced by personnel all along the line. Another reason for the Ministry's success is directly traceable to top officials in the National Government who have realized the extreme importance of communications and the necessity for their efficient functioning. Another reason, one might assume, is that the nature of railway and airline operation demands a certain minimum level of efficiency which must be maintained if disastrous consequences are to be avoided. An airplane must be operated in a certain fashion, no matter where it is being flown, or it will not fly. The same goes for railroad equipment and, to a lesser extent, other types of communication equipment.

In any event China's communications constitute one bright spot in an otherwise gloomy scene.

The fact that the country's communications system functions so well makes one wonder if the myriad and sometimes novel excuses so easily manufactured by Nanking spokesmen to explain away the Government's numerous imperfections in other lines are really valid. Perhaps the smooth and proper operation of the Chinese Army is impossible under present conditions, but why then does the Ministry of Communications function so well? The same question and answer routine might be posed for virtually every branch of the Nanking Government.

If trains can be made to leave the station on time and to proceed to the next stopping point without jumping off the track or without breaking down due to mechanical failure, why cannot Nationalist armies move when and where they are supposed to? If railway personnel can be sufficiently paid so that they do not pilfer coal, spare locomotive parts or other materials lying around loose, why is it that Chinese soldiers cannot receive their pay regularly so that they are not forced to rob the countryside or sell their ammunition to the enemy?

If there is no blackmarket in airline tickets or other irregularities in the sale of the service to the public, either by employees or "Yellow Ox" gangs, why is it then that when the Ministry of Finance draws up new economic reforms, the Ministry leaks as if it were a sieve and employees and their friends are able to make a "killing" in the markets?

If the Post Office each day can safely deliver thousands upon thousands of pieces of mail, much of which has a saleable value, from one end of the country to another, why is it that so many Government-owned factories or other "productive enterprises" are continually involved in scandal and are notoriously inefficient in operation?

One might almost assume that the Ministry of Communications, by virtue of its general excellence, does a major disservice to the National Government by emphasizing the lack of any valid excuse for other parts of the Government to function so poorly.

Pedicab Pushers

A LETTER to the editor appearing in the *Evening Post* last week in which a foreign woman complained of being manhandled and generally insulted by a group of disgruntled men and boys who eke out their living by pushing pedicabs up the slopes of the bridges across Soochow Creek has aroused considerable indignation in many quarters. However, it seems to us that the matter should not be dismissed by simply complaining of the crude and annoying behavior of the "pushers" and by having the police drive them away from the bridges for a few days.

As most Shanghai residents are aware, a sizable number of refugees and other indigents in this city make their living on the numerous hump-backed bridges crossing Soochow Creek. Some take advantage of the slow traffic to beg, some, usually small children, run after trucks and attempt to pilfer handsfull of cotton or other merchandise, many operate sidewalk emporiums, hawking their wares, while many volunteer their services as "pushers" for pedicabs or rickshas. It is unnecessary to point out that these people add to the congestion on the already overcrowded bridges, are traffic hazards and are unpleasant to deal with since they generally are dirty, diseased and, upon occasion, are insistent to the point of intimidation in selling their wares or services. It should also be unnecessary to point out that these people, living in a condition only slightly above that of stray animals, are members of society and, like the rest of us, must engage in some form of work if they are to eat.

The pushers, we think, should be pitied, not scorned. When the average fee for pushing one over a bridge, according to our experience, is about CNC$100,000, approximately three cents Gold Yuan or less than one American penny, one wonders what the average daily earnings of a pedicab pusher amount to? No wonder they are insistent and continue to push even when the passenger tells them not to do so. No wonder

they demand their fee when the pedicab reaches the crest of the bridge.

While we sympathize with the foreign woman who was mauled because she was pushed against her will and then refused to pay for a service imposed upon her, we think her refusal to pay such a small sum indicates that her annoyance at being "crossed" in her wishes led her to insist unwisely upon her technical rights and make an issue of an extremely small matter, with the result that she was insulted. The fact that she happened to be pregnant undoubtedly increased her sense of outrage.

We personally have little use for the streams of well fed Shanghailanders who allow themselves to be hauled up the slopes of the bridges, with or without assistance from a pusher, when they might just as well get out and walk the 15 or 20 yards involved. Obviously a pregnant woman cannot be expected to walk, but she might well consider a pusher as a necessary expense, as the woman in question apparently thought the pedicab itself an added but necessary expense since she mentioned that her condition prevented her from riding a street car.

While we don't wish to be too critical of the aforementioned woman, this incident seems to us to bring to light a problem, for which neither local officialdom nor the public seems to have an answer. The beggars, pedicab pushers, pilferers, hawkers and what not should not be on the bridges, or for that matter, should not exist anywhere. However, the Civil War and the consequent social and economic upheaval have brought such people to Shanghai. The city administration obviously has no solution, apparently being unable to afford work relief or any other kind of aid. The impoverished refugees are therefore left to shift for themselves and may be seen squatting all over town. Upon one occasion we counted a total of 63 beggars along Szechuen Road between Chung Cheng Road and Soochow Creek. Few if any of them can get jobs since there is already unemployment among the city's natives. A few may find relatives in town, but the majority live on the streets, sleeping huddled in doorways or wrapped in matting on the sidewalks. Most of them have become beggars by profession, soliciting a few thousand CNC here and there and depending largely upon the leavings of restaurants and stalls for their food. Some have become petty thieves and pilferers, some of the more prosperous have become hawkers, while still others vie with each other for the "privilege" of pushing pedicabs of rickshas over Soochow Creek bridges.

These people are a product of the times and can hardly be blamed personally because they are rough, mean and overbearing. We know that it is difficult to maintain one's temper when sworn at or otherwise insulted by these indigents, but the solution is not to be found by venting one's spleen on these individuals personally. While we think the writer of the aforementioned letter perhaps did not exhibit the best judgment under the circumstances, we can sympathize with her over her regrettable experience. She did absolutely right in writing an open letter to Police Commissioner Schobern Yu. If more such letters are written to the authorities by the public perhaps enough pressure can be built up so that a work relief plan or some other form of suitable assistance can be inaugurated before the coming of cold weather.

25 Years Ago In *The Weekly Review*

Russian Sincerity

September 22, 1923.

The world seems to be still holding to the doctrine that one man's loss is another man's gain. Therefore, the sincerity of the Soviet Envoy, which is taken by the Chinese authorities at face value, is seriously questioned by interested parties other than China.....The liberal terms voluntarily offered by the Soviet Government have aroused much curiosity and suspicion not only in China but throughout the world. Vacilating Peking politics and the disastrous conditions prevailing in China raise a doubt as to whether the present Peking Government is able to avail itself of this opportunity to recover its former economic and territorial losses from its "awfully kind" Russian comrades. However, the Chinese Foreign Office together with the special department for Sino-Russian affairs, has expressed its optimistic attitude in this respect. It retorts that internal politics do not affect to any considerable extent its diplomatic intercourse with other countries.

* * *

Reconstruction of China's Finances

A billion dollar loan is the basis of a plan just published in a bulletin by Chang Ying-hua, Director General of the Bureau of Currency at Peking, for the reconstruction of China's finances. A commission would be organized when the loan was floated to have charge of its disbursement. The government's creditor representatives, members of the cabinet, bankers, the inspector general of customs, the associated chamber of commerce and the speaker of parliament would be members of the commission, which would choose its own chairman and vice-chairman. The plan should receive attention because it has possibilities of putting China on its feet governmentally.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Rising Nation

September 24, 1938.

Commenting on the future of China in the war against Japan, Mao Tse-tung declared: "However, while our revolutionary movements have been frequently frustrated, the hundred years of struggle for our emancipation have disciplined the Chinese. China is behind Japan in all phases, yet as for herself, she has in the present period, acquired more progressive elements than in any other period in her past history. And it is precisely upon this progressiveness that China lays her foundation for the possibility of prolonging the war and emerging victorious, for contrary to the declining Japanese imperialism, China is a rising nation."

* * *

Commercial Press

Its large Shanghai plant destroyed in the hostilities, the Commercial Press, Ltd., once the biggest Chinese printing and publishing company, is making strenuous efforts to regain a leading position in China's publishing business by building new factories in remote southwestern provinces, *Domei* reported this week. The company's Shanghai plant, on Paoshan road, Chapei, was first destroyed in the 1932 hostilities. It was conservatively estimated that the material loss alone amounted to more than $1,500,000.

CHENGTU ROUNDUP

Richard Wu

MANY people feel that the unsurpassed rise in prices since the issuing of the Gold Yuan on August 21 has actually done more harm than good for Chengtu.

Prior to this date, the average commodity price was approximately one-third that of prices in Shanghai. The blackmarket rates for American dollars, silver dollars and gold in fapi were $7,000,000, $2,500,000 and $350,000,000 respectively. The official rates fixed by the Government on a GY basis, are four dollars, two dollars and four hundred dollars respectively (in terms of the old fapi it would be $12,000,000, $6,000,000 and $600,000,000). Since it is quite natural for commodity prices to keep to the level of values in gold, silver and foreign exchange, the Chengtu market has entered the realm of chaos.

The Government's validation of the circulation of nickel coins has been the cause of still further tumult. The nickel coins were mostly cast in the Central Mint in Chengtu during the first three years of the Japanese war. Because of the inflation, the coins, went out of circulation and vanished from the scene after 1941. People sold them as scrap metal and in some cases they were used in the making of water pipes, basins and other plumbing articles. Before August 21, they were sold for CN$300,000 per catty, which consisted of about 120 half-dollar coins. On August 21, the news came out that there was a possibility that nickel coins would be back in circulation. The poor, who had them in their possession, were ready to avail themselves of the opportunity of disposing of the formerly useless article. It was during this period of dealing in nickel that a number of people reaped fortunes.

Gather In Nickel

Meanwhile, it has been reported that the Chengtu branch of the Central Bank received from its head office the order of the validation of nickel coins on August 21. However, the news was not officially announced until the evening of August 25. During this time, speculators, including some newspapers having correspondents stationed in Shanghai, high ranking officials and some money dealers ran around the city gathering up as much nickel as they could.

One official was said to have dumped four gasoline drums full of nickel, weighing about 7,000 tons, on the market through a goldsmith. The *Hsin Ming Pao* has come in for a lot of criticism because of this scandal. The paper reported in its August 23 morning edition that nickel coins would not be used. When this news appeared the market was visibly shocked and the price of nickel dropped sharply. There seems to be no explanation as to how this unfounded rumor got into the paper, and as a result, there have been many rumors about the financial activities of several *Hsin Ming Pao* staff members.

Go To Blackmarket

The total number of nickel coins in Szechuan are estimated to be worth roughly about GY400,000,000. Thus, they add to the said circulation of GY2,000,000,000 by one-fifth and have caused an inflation here. The people in possession of nickel coins poured into the shops and stores buying whatever they could. The stores were compelled to hide whatever was not sold in the first onslaught and then the ordinary consumer had to go to the blackmarket to make many of his purchases. At present, Chengtu is suffering from shortages of rice, flour, meat, fuel and vegetable oil. The official ceiling for rice was originally set at GY1.20 but raised to GY1.80. Meanwhile there is an active blackmarket.

As for the great "Nickel Tide," two high officials from the main office of the Central Bank were sent here to investigate the situation. The Provincial Council has also made a request for the detention of Yang Hsia-tze, the Central Bank manager. At the time of this report however, Yang is still free and appears at many public functions quite openly.

* * *

DURING the course of the recent nation-wide "Communist professional student" roundup, which followed the establishment of the Special Criminal Court, Chengtu had 19 victims on August 19. Forty-seven more students from Szechuan University were nabbed on September 6. It has been learned that the Special Criminal Court sent a request to the authorities of West China University asking them to search the dormitories of the arrested for evidence of their guilt. There is speculation over the fact that a blacklist was actually prepared by the authorities of the University and submitted to the Special Criminal Court.

It is public knowledge that the President of West China University, Mr. Fang Shu-hsuan; the Dean of Studies, Dr. Lan Tien-hou; and the Proctor, Mr. Chow Yun-wen are responsible men in the Provincial Headquarters of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps. The ex-Dean, Mr. Li Hen, well known for his applauding of Governor Wang Ling-chi and his denouncement of the students in his letter on the April 9 Incident to the *Review*, has been granted a fellowship in astronomy at Princeton.

Eleven of the 47 students arrested on September 6 were released on bail through the efforts of the President of Szechuan University, Mr. Huang Chi-loo, who sometime ago lost his post of Directing Commissioner of the Provincial KMT Headquarters. It seems that his recent actions have caused many people to take note of him.

THE development of the Civil War during the past several months has had Szechuan constantly on edge. Since the fall of Hsiang-Yang and Fan-Cheng, along with the reported capture of General Kang Tze in Hupei, many petitions by the Provincial Council on the need to strengthen the local defense forces have been made. Governor Wang Ling-chi has just returned from Nanking where he spent a week conferring with the Supreme Authority and circles concerned. Plans have been drawn up by the Governor who won himself the confidence of the Generalissimo through his outstanding obedience during the past. However, where the money to carry these plans into effect will come from is not too apparent.

Communists In Hills

In the Hua-Ying Mountains which stretch to the Ta Pa Mountains bordering Hupei and Szechuan and embrace the towns of Nanchung, Kwangan, Hochun and Yochih in northeast Szechuan, gangs of so-called, "native Communists" have been well entrenched for the past half year. Troops under the command of the Chungking Pacification Headquarters have been trying to annihilate these gangs in several fruitless expeditions. These efforts usually prove to be useless. A couple of weeks ago one of these gangs, led by an ex-Councellor of Nanchung, broke into the town and killed the Police Commissioner. The Provincial Council was greatly shocked and sent urgent telegrams to Nanking and Chungking, requesting a quick mopping up of the bandits. The results are still being awaited.

At the very time that the entire province feels as if it is on the brink of the long feared Communist invasion, a display of complex political intrigue continues to go on. General Teng Hsi-hou, the former governor and the newly appointed Commander of the pacification of the Szechuan-Shensi-Hupei Border Region, still has not assumed his office and remains in Chengtu. Apparently he is reluctant about going to his headquarters in Hanchung, for fear of meeting the same fate as the late General Kang Tze. Then again, it may be due to the fact that he only has the remnants of one division under his direct command. It is also reported that General Sun Chen and General Wang Ling-chi both were entrusted with the task of persuading General Teng to assume the office. However, it does not seem as if Teng will run the risk. General Sun is expected to proceed to Ichang soon to succeed General Pan Wen-hua as Pacification Commander there. It is clear that there are many contradictions and controversies among the ruling clique themselves and such contradictions and controversies may very well lead to an inevitable deterioration from within.

Deadlock In France

Jacques Decaux

Paris, September 5.

IT is quite apparent that what has been going on in French politics is quite unintelligible to the vast majority of foreigners. However, if it is any consolation to these bewildered folk, it is also true that the majority of the French people cannot understand much more of what is taking place here than can the foreigners.

The general opinion by both Frenchmen and people abroad is that France is in a mess and that it is putting on a poor show for foreign tourists as well as for the UNO members who are expected soon.

The Fourth French Republic was made by men who did everything in their power to insure their own downfall. The feature of post-war politics in France, compared to prewar, has been that men with personality have been replaced by monolithic parties with hard fisted control being imposed on all members. Nowadays, a Socialist, for example, cannot disagree with any of his party's policy without excluding himself from it.

Split After War

It is important to note that France was split into diverging parties after the war. There was not the definite trend toward socialism which was apparent in England. Therefore, no rigid economic policy could be devised and applied to the country.

The Socialists wanted socialization of all the major industries, but to get this plan accepted they had to give ground on some other vital issues. Popular Republican Rene Mayer had a financial plan last year which was accepted but only after it had been watered down. At the time, this correspondent reported on the ill effects of the withdrawal of the 5,000 franc notes and its leading to a loss of confidence in the Government.

There were three chief reasons for the downfall of Robert Schuman and his government. One was the need to cut the state budget (the Socialists opposed cuts in certain ministries but wanted the military budget sliced). The second was the matter of religion in the schools (the Socialists wanted no intrusion of religion into the national school system, a problem for half a century). The third was the foreign policy of Georges Bidault which included the London agreements on Germany and the signing of the bilateral agreements with the United States.

It took a very flimsy reason to send the cabinet, after many upheavals, downgrade to its ultimate disintegration. A Radical Republican Andre Marie, formed the new government and took in financial expert Paul Reynaud. It took Reynaud three weeks to draw up his economic plans, the basic outlines of which had been accepted by the Socialists. Reynaud would have liked to undo any nationalization of industry but he refrained from doing so in an effort to hold the support of Socialists. Instead, he tried to stop all subsidies to those industries which had been losing money since becoming government owned. A rise in prices, of course, would have come about. In exchange for these price increases, Reynaud agreed to raise salaries to a certain extent.

It was at this juncture that the Socialists began to fall out. Meanwhile, labor trouble was brewing and the Socialists, threatened on the left by the Communists, were forced to plump vociferously for the workers. Reynaud then preferred to resign rather than do away with his plan.

Two Effects

The rapid downfall of the Marie cabinet had two effects: The elections for the Upper House were postponed and there was now the possibility that a new government would use law by decree to govern.

Whatever government may get into office, no matter what its duration, it will be faced by colossal problems. Strong economic measures are needed to cope with the inflation; the demands of labor must be settled and France must be back on her feet by the time aid from the Marshall Plan stops. At the moment, the political parties are unable to agree on any plan and no government can hope to win a sufficient parliamentary majority to be able to govern for any definite length of time.

Thus, much talk on the dissolution of both houses has been making the rounds. It may seem all very well to toss an impotent parliament to the winds and start with a new one, truly representative of the widest possible public opinion but there are different aspects to this weighty question.

France needs a government which can immediately go to work on urgent and complex problems. Then, a time of crisis is scarcely psychologically suitable for elections to take place; a time when parties would fight each other without pity, hurl all sorts of accusations and make use of the worst demogogery. Again, it is not quite clear how the National Assembly could be dissolved legally. Finally, there seems to be no way out of the vicious cycle into which the French have fallen whereby the people are definitely "fed-up" with politics.

For four years the economic situation has steadily worsened while the politicians waged their personal struggles. The people know who is to blame. They point to most of the politicians and parties but still are not sure which political shade they prefer. The most depressing sight is that most of the politicians have lost nearly all their prestige.

People Cheated

The people know that they have been cheated even if they don't understand just why. They feel that the Constitution is to blame. They could not vote clearly on a document whose very language made it difficult to comprehend fully most of its implications. Some parties said it was excellent, some said it was terrible and votes were given according to the position one's party took. The Constitution led successive governments to the present state of affairs, without giving any decent solution.

This correspondent is not a prophet nor is he gifted with any powers to read the stars. Attempting to see things as they really are is certainly not very easy in France today. Things may continue as they are now; that is, no definite solution will be found. However, there is the possible Communist threat in a few months time should the economic problem remain unsolved. Then the Communists will have the chance of a lifetime.

As for De Gaulle and his party, if he came to power now he might have a good chance; the intelligent thing would be for him to gain a victory by a plebiscite, thus giving him a majority to rely upon. The whole point revolves around whether or not De Gaulle, or any other leader, is able to arouse the people from their present apathy regarding politics. The "third force" has lost its chance; Communism may win only by violence. For De Gaulle, the question is, have his past failings taught him something? If they have he deserves to win.

FOUR RESOLUTIONS FOR THE SHANGHAI CITY COUNCIL

By C. Y. W. Meng

THE seventh plenary session of the Shanghai City Council (SCC) was in session a couple of days ago. As usual, there were reports from the Mayor and other departmental heads of the Shanghai Municipal Government (SMG). There were speeches during the meeting. There were interpellations of the city government officials by the councillors. There were many resolutions adopted at the meeting.

Failed To Take Up

But I believe there are some other important resolutions which the councillors failed to introduce at the SCC meeting, and these resolutions, as far as I can see, if adopted and put in force with full vigor, could open a new chapter in the history of Shanghai.

Although the meeting is now over, I still venture to present my view to the Shanghai public for the purpose of discussion.

(1) *Promotion of Self-Control Movement*: At bus or tram stations, I have often seen crowds of people rushing to get into vehicles, some even by climbing in through the windows. For this reason, some buses have to provide iron-bar windows to prevent such happenings. At a football game or basketball match which, ordinarily, requires only a few boy scouts to maintain order, I have seen many armed policemen and steel-helmeted gendarmes standing by at the entrance and around the playground. At the entrance, I always see wire-barricades!

All these instances could not but impress many observers that the people in Shanghai, whose educational standing is supposed to be higher than that of the people in the interior, are very poor in the matter of self-control.

China is supposed to have entered the "Period of Constitutionalism." The first prerequisite of a successful constitutional government is self-government. Therefore, I should consider it a solemn and supreme duty of Mayor K. C. Wu to introduce a self-control system to the people in Shanghai by teaching the people that to control yourself is to free yourself from being controlled by the police.

The Mayor may very well hold some public entertainments during the year such as the "Dragon Boat Race" in the spring, open-air concerts in the summer and "Dragon Parades" on Chinese New Year Day, when the occasion is fully utilized to train the people in self-control and when not many policemen are used to maintain order but to teach the people "Keep Order Yourself."

Under this principle the Government will always encourage the people to govern themselves in every possible way. The Government will not only welcome the students' self-government bodies, organized by the students themselves in the universities, but will take every step to nourish its growth, for this is one of the ways to build up democracy from the roots.

Once such a movement is in full swing in Shanghai, it will no doubt quickly spread to other cities as well. Such a movement will be a great stride toward the development of constitutionalism in China.

(2) *Development of Free Education for the Poor*: That China still has a high percentage of illiteracy goes without saying. But in order to improve the situation, it must begin with the development of free education for the poor. This is because under the present conditions in China, the rich have every opportunity to receive an education, while the poor do not. Therefore, illiteracy exists principally among the poor and the underprivileged.

Such free education may be divided into three grades: Primary schools, middle schools and higher schools of learning. While the purpose of opening primary schools is to teach the poor to read and to write some simple words, that for middle schools is to offer such courses as good citizenship, national history and geography. In higher level schools, more useful courses, such as simple accounting and bookkeeping, abacus, type-writing, salesmanship, advertisement, electric mechanics, telephone operators and automobile driving will enable many people to find employment or to seek advancement.

In Shanghai, we have many municipal primary and middle schools. In the night time, these schools may well be used as free night schools where the poor and the underprivileged may study for one hour every evening. With Mayor K. C. Wu's remarkable prestige, I believe his clarion call for volunteers will surely be quickly responded to by many educational enthusiasts.

Compulsory Education

I suggest the Mayor take the lead in promoting compulsory education in China, and in offering the widest opportunity for free education to all people in Shanghai, including the scavengers, night-soil carriers and beggars. Special municipal regulations should be enacted whereby the illiterates must attend free night schools, while factory managers and shop proprietors must shorten working hours from half an hour to one hour to permit their laborers, employees and apprentice to study one hour every evening either to learn how to read and write, or to learn more about what they are working at.

(3) *Institution of Social Security System*: It is very frequently said that Shanghai has too many beggars. Indeed, Shanghai has too many poor and underprivileged. On every street corner and in front of every large building, there are the sick, the aged, the starving, the crippled, the homeless refugee—man, women

"GENTLEMEN, I BEG YOU TO CEASE FIRING!"

This French cartoon satirizes the internal dissension which has led to the collapse of the Schuman Cabinet. While the various members of the Cabinet engage in a battle royal, Premier Robert Schuman stands on the table, above the fray, pathetically waving a white flag of truce.

and children—wandering about and begging for food and money. In the early morning, I have often seen many of these people after they have spent the night wrapped in a few tattered rags to shield their bodies from the bitter winter wind. On rainy nights, while sleeping in the entance to various buildings, their bodies are usually covered merely by a piece of summer matting or perhaps a broken umbrella. Further description of their wretched conditions is not needed, for the whole heart-breaking and deplorable picture is vividly presented every day to all Shanghailanders.

On the other hand, let us look at the life of the rich man in Shanghai. He freely spends vast sums of money for a wedding, the celebration of a birthday and the birth of a child. Go to the restaurants, dance halls, theaters and amusement houses and you will find every one of them packed to its fullest capacity with well-dressed people. Go to the department stores and you will note the thirst for "U.S.A.-Made" nylon stockings, cosmetics and other luxuries.

Human Misery

But for a conscious observer who happens to dine in the Park Hotel or the Palace Hotel, he can always see the human misery vividly portrayed before his eyes when he looks at the poor through the beautiful windows.

What is the most tragic story to relate is that with the exception of one "Winter Relief Campaign," which usually lasts only three months a year, the SMG takes no other action to care for the poor.

In the past, I have often suggested such a relief campaign on a year around basis, to institute the "Soak-the-Rich Taxes" and use this money to take care of the poor, and to regard charity not merely as a humanitarian gesture, but as a state affair, and, in this case, a municipal affair.

One recent survey reveals that there are a total of around 50,000 civilian automobiles in the country, consuming approximately 4,270,000 gallons of gasoline a month. But Shanghai alone consumes more than one-third of the gasoline or, to put it in a more exact way, 1,565,000 gallons.

In order to raise funds for relief purposes, my first suggestion is to let each automobile owner bear some portion of the relief burden. I therefore urge the SMG to levy a special relief tax at a progressive rate with the heaviest tax falling on the owner of the "1949 Model" automobile.

The same tax may be levied on many owners of foreign style-buildings in Shanghai. During these years of currency inflation, many have gotten rich—very rich and very quickly—largely through speculation and hoarding activities, and many of them are now buying land and putting up modern buildings on the outskirts of Shanghai or in Soochow and Hangchow. I suggest an additional tax on them as well, and thus let them bear another part of the relief burden.

We have not the slightest intention of discomforting the rich in this city or any part in China. What we want to do is to urge them to depart with a small portion of their fortune for the relief of the poor. In this connection, there is no doubt that in order to promote the collection of the "Soak-the-Rich Taxes," we have to be fair. Such taxes must be levied on all rich men without any exceptions whatsoever. But I should say that rich government officials and rich Kuomintang members must take the lead in making contributions. If any of them should fail to do so, the Government is fully justified to sell by auction that portion of his real estate which is not needed to maintain his living for the benefit of the poor as an exemplary punishment for the rest.

Door Of Rich

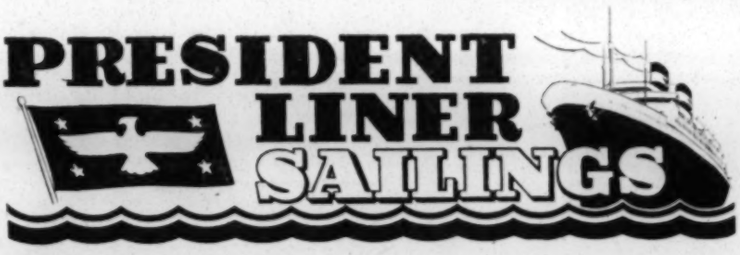
The Mayor has been knocking at the door of the Shanghai rich in conducting his CNC$8,500,000,000,000-Special Relief Contribution. But so far, according to the reports, he has not called on many people, government officials and rich Kuomintang members on the grounds that they are under the jurisdiction of the Central Government. I don't agree with this. It is the location of one's real estate that counts, be he an official of the Central or Municipal Government, a resident of Shanghai or a resident abroad. So long as his real estate is located in Shanghai, the SMG should tax it.

In other words, because Shanghai has so many rich men, there should be no difficulty in raising a sizable amount of needed funds for such a lofty purpose. What is required is perhaps the courage and initiative: courage, in offending and taxing the rich; and initiative, in instituting the "Soak-the-Rich Taxes" and in introducing some simple forms of social security to Shanghai. Both are admittedly something new to China.

Need Social Security

But I wish to encourage Mayor K. C. Wu to create some new principles and take the lead in putting them into practice in China. These new principles, to be brief, are: the rich should take care of the poor, and the Government should provide a chance for the poor to be a "man" and a useful citizen. My contention is that at the present time, the provision of social security for the people is definitely a responsibility of the government, and, in the case of Shanghai, the SMG.

(4) *Organization of SMG Mobile Service Corps*: Recently, in front of the Central Bank of China, one was able to see a crowd of the poor, carrying bundles of bank notes. Many of them were still counting their notes at the Bank's entrance. Most of them were country folk, coming from very far away. They came not for exchanging the newly issued GY (Gold Yuan) but for bigger-denomination *Fapi*. But they knew nothing about office hours, and they simply waited at the Bank's entrance, hours ahead of the time. They knew nothing about the exchange operations, and they simply walked here and there to ask for the place of exchange. Some of them did not know the figure on the notes, and some of



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them did not know how to count their notes.

When I look at them, I pity them. But I can not but put part of the blame on the SMG for their failure to take care of the poor and the ignorant. Had there been a Mobile Service Corps, organized by the SMG, a great deal of help might have been rendered to the poor in the city. This SMG Mobile Service Corps can perform many other duties.

It is the duty of this SMG Mobile Service Corps to organize the many refugees, now flooding the city, into the various groups in accordance with their age and capacity of doing work. The many women refugees may be organized to meet the housewives for maid servants. The aged—men and women—may be organized as flower-sellers to be provided by the SMG nurseries. Thus, many of the poor and the refugees, instead of begging for food and money on the street, will be utilized and will earn their living.

It is the duty of this SMG Mobile Service Corps to visit every factory in Shanghai to study the present conditions of child labor and the apprentice system in this city, and to publish periodic public reports, with a view to abolishing child labor and replacing it with refugee laborers. This is because, as I see it, child labor is economically, uneconomic, and, socially, a crime.

It is the duty of this SMG Mobile Service Corps to visit every house of prostitution to find out what causes every girl there to become a prostitute. Whenever the Social Affairs Bureau receives an application for a prostitute's license, this Mobile Service Corps should rush to her home within five minutes to find out what causes her to do so. If she is being "sold" as a prostitute or a "forced prostitute," the Corps should rush to her rescue to liberate her. I believe had the SMG taken such steps in the past, hundreds and thousands of such unfortunate young girls would have been liberated, and begun a new life.

Study Child Labor

It is the duty of this SMG Mobile Service Corps to visit every part of the city and to pick up every abandoned and destitute child, and to send it quickly to the nurseries and orphanages for care and education.

It is the duty of this SMG Mobile Service Corps to study other social evils and social injustice and to root out other sufferings of the poor.

As I see it, this SMG Mobile Service Corps can perform many other useful services to the poor in Shanghai. Their motto should be: "To Serve But Not to Be Served." Their purpose should be: "To Bring Social Justice to All, and New Hope and a New Lease of Life to the Poor."

I may add here that in carrying out any reconstruction project, China needs the service of a group of most energetic and hard-working young people who are ready to mix with the masses, work together with them and work for them.

All these steps which I have suggested will not in any way increase SMG expenditures. Many of the staff members of the SMG, the Educational Bureau and the Social Affairs Bureau may be spared from the routine and ordinary work and be assigned to do more field work among the people.

In all cases, what is most important is for us to handle such work with 100 percent open-mindedness and farsightedness, putting aside all "Party Principles," ceasing to talk about any "ism," and knowing only the improvement of the welfare of the Common Man.

19th Century City

In other words, there is an opportunity for one to take the initiative, and there are some facilities ready in Shanghai. But unfortunately, in the past, no initiative has been taken, and facilities were not utilized. As a result, there is no improvement in the local administration. Everything remains static. Shanghai still remains a city of the 19th century.

There are a good many reasons for my introduction of these resolutions to the SCC meet. First of all, the present behavior of Shanghai does not follow the march of time, but moves against it. There are many indications to show that Shanghai is going away from the "Century of the Common Man." Secondly, we must endeavor to make Shanghai less a "City of Contrasts" and much less a "City of the Rich, the Powerful and the Vested Rights," where the chasm between the rich and the poor is most pronounced, and where the rich are virtually the "parasites" by living at the expense of the poor, and where the poor have been suffering from gross social injustice for generations.

I want Shanghai to go and to look *forward* and to think more of *tomorrow*. I want Shanghai to undergo a tremendous and sweeping social change by transforming itself from a "City of Contrasts" to a "City of the Common Man" where not bureaucratic capitalism, but the "People's Capitalism" will flourish. I want Shanghai to accomplish this end, not by means of bloody revolution and endless class conflict, nor by police actions alone, but by, first of all, awakening *the people* to control themselves, by reminding *the people* "Let Us Face the Future," by urging *the people* to become "an active and living part of the times," and by peaceful and democratic means through the discussion and adoption of some important resolutions by such a body as the SCC.

Shanghai needs a fighting mayor with more of "Tomorrow's Vision" and a forward looking outlook for the future. We want an enlightened administrative staff with "Men Who Believe in Their Century," "Men Who Serve Their Nation as well as time," and many "Social Reformers and Social Chemists."

I waited for the adoption of these resolutions for a long time. But the 7th plenary session of the SCC again has failed me. For this reason, I could not wait any longer, and I wish to present these resolutions to the Shanghai public for consideration.

GALLANT KNIGHT TO THE RESCUE

President Truman is portrayed in this English cartoon as astride the steed of the present American inflation while, at the same time, coming to the rescue of Europe.

China's Educational Crisis

Wang Chin-jen

(The author is a professor of English at National Lanchow University—Ed.)

IN a previous article which appeared in the *China Weekly Review* some months ago, I dwelt on how the study of English has failed in schools and colleges and suggested that special emphasis be laid on oral English as a rmedy for the failure. Now it seems to me almost obligatory to write another article on a problem far more vital than the study of English, the matter of discipline in colleges and universities in China.

The plight of higher education everywhere in China is indescribable. Scholastic standing is threatened with complete disruption. There is no gainsaying the fact that the qualities of colleges and universities as a whole have been considerably lower than the pre-war standard of excellence. There has been hardly a day without an "unfortunate affair" or a "strike" caused by students in Shanghai, Nanking, Peiping or elsewhere in China during the past few years.

College education cannot live on "unfortunate affairs." "What is the remedy for all this?" is a natural question for all of us to ask. If no drastic steps are taken immediately, if stupid blunders are not avoided, and if criminal negligence of our educational authorities is not entirely done away with, higher education in China will be defunct as a beneficial organization. We must plan for improvements and progress. Discipline is one thing needed at present which is conspicuous by its absence.

Laissez Faire Policy

As is generally known, authorities of most colleges and universities have adopted a laissez faire policy towards their students. As a sad result, dictatorship of the students is rampant throughout China. Most educators before they became teachers were idealistic about the teaching profession. However, soon after they become teachers they begin to discover that they are entirely left at the mercy of their students. I doubt if anyone who has not been teaching in a college realizes the precariousness of the teaching profession. A teacher may be criticized for almost anything; for being too stern, for being too lax, for coming to the classroom one or two minutes too late, for teaching too fast, or for teaching too slow. Fully realizing the critical spirit of the students, I have been going on with my teaching all these years with extreme care, but all the same, I have been criticized by some students for being different from ordinary people (and perhaps I am).

I am not asking for more personal freedom in the college. What I do assert is that a college professor very often does not even have the same amount of personal freedom as the average college student enjoys! A student may lose his temper with any of his teachers for no reason whatever and feel quite all right about it. But woe unto the teacher if he loses his temper with any of his students! It is usually wise for teachers to keep opinions to themselves as regards the behavior of the students, for to express opinions on any subject concerning the students, either in the classroom or outside, is always dangerous. Most teachers find that their students welcome flattering remarks but strangely dislike criticism. Is it any wonder, then, that discipline in colleges is nothing short of a farce? What will be the consequences when the majority of college students are subject to an education totally devoid of discipline? Such being the case, how can we expect colleges to train young people for good and useful citizenship? I fear that education will defeat its own end if no thorough renovation is brought about without delay.

Student Wrongdoings

No one can deny that the Government has paid a big price for the education of college students both by exempting them from tuition fees and by giving them subsistence allowances. Under such favorable circumstances, students should avail themselves of the opportunity to build up their character and devote themselves to their studies so that they may be able to serve their country upon graduation.

Unfortunately, the students have been resorting to the threat of strike at every conceivable opportunity under the pretext of effecting an improvement in government and college affairs. They have committed all sorts of wrongdoing. There have been cases where students went so far as to attempt to murder their own teachers! There have been cases also where students have held meetings without the previous knowledge of the authorities, have issued leaflets, and have declared null and void rules laid out by college authorities.

The fact is that college students in China today are completely out of control. Student discipline is definitely going from bad to worse. Teachers and administrative officers, instead of being accorded respect, have been welcomed or rejected at the caprice of the students. Just a few weeks ago, I heard a report to the effect that the students of some colleges in Peiping refused to take their final examinations unless they were assured of jobs after graduation. It may be interesting to note that of this year's 20,000 odd college graduates, only several hundreds have jobs. The overwhelming majority of college graduates who have failed to get jobs will continue to be liabilities to the nation. Unemployment of college graduates is certainly one of the most serious problems that confronts China today. It has been reported that often hundreds of candidates apply for the same position. The fears, tensions and social problems thus created are immeasurable. Of course, it is easy to say, "Unemployment serves the college graduates right. They brought it on themselves." But this attitude of vengeance is in opposition to the basic tenants of college education.

Cooperation Needed

It is high time for us to bestir ourselves and grasp the opportunity before it passes. Dictatorship of students such as we have in China cannot go on without causing the total bankruptcy of education. We must rebuild our educational system along truly scientific and moral lines. Educational authorities and college professors must assume their full responsibility to create law-abiding students in colleges, even at the risk of losing their positions or their lives, otherwise higher education will but defeat its own object. College students should be taught love and respect for one another, understanding of the other fellow's point of view. Then, perhaps, they wouldn't make so much trouble against the Government or their college authorities. Students should be taught that while tolerance for cruelty is bad, they should be angry only at injustice. College students should be made to realize that China is facing an economic crisis unprecedented in her history, and that the time in which we live is certainly a time of turmoil and conflict, and that students must learn to co-operate with the government in finding a solution to existing problems.

Above all, college students should be warned that the only place of complete freedom is in the jungle. Students should be required to depend more and more upon their own private efforts; and be willing to take rigid examinations, and consent to the strict measures taken to prevent cheating. I challenge anyone to name any college in China (though there may be a possible exception) in which the demanding of limitation on examination questions by students is absolutely unknown. True, examination results never are an end in itself. The ultimate object of examination should be to discover each individual's weaknesses. To enforce an examination is just to create an opportunity for frequent drill and review to effect an orientation of new lessons with old. Therefore, as an essential teaching aid, examinations must be conducted in a far more strict manner than during recent years.

ANTI-COMMUNIST LEGISLATION: TWO VIEWS

Herblock in The Washington Post

"Whatever you do, don't fling me into dat brier patch."

Messner in The Rochester Times-Union.

"Was there ever any doubt?"

Cartoon on the left expresses the fear that the current Communist witch hunt in America may backfire by making martyrs of the Reds. Cartoonist Herblock views Communists (rabbit) as welcoming martyrdom at hands of enemies (fox and bear) who stupidly are doing just what the rabbit wants them to do. Cartoon on right indicates little doubt of connection between US Reds and Moscow and views Congress' anti-Red activities as sensible move.

Yet it is one thing to discover in what way the average college student is weak, and it is quite another and more valuable thing to know what can be done about helping each student and to do it. The greatest trouble today is that too many professors are content to allow their students to follow the line of least resistance.

New Type Of Professor

Colleges and universities must seek a new type of professor. No longer is it enough that a professor knows books. He must know students. He must take a deep interest in their free-time occupations and their daily problems. He must become familiar with their interests. The professor's duties are bound to expand. He must know how to promote the mental, moral and physical welfare of students and take care to maintain a high quality of teaching (any professor must thoroughly enjoy and have a passion and aptitude for the teaching profession.

Unfortunately, owing to the unusually high cost of living, the chief interest of most professors has been the matter of salaries, not successful teaching or the welfare of the students. And many have regretted being teachers, and resent the teaching profession for the niggardly salary they receive.

Therefore, there can be no final settlement of the many pressing problems in colleges and universities until professors are selected more carefully for qualities mentioned above, and are paid an income which can give them a decent living.

It is sad to relate that except for a long list of new colleges and universities, which have been established during the past few decades, there is nothing we have done as a nation, politically, morally or educationally, that gives even the faintest hope that higher education in China will be any better in the future. National affairs have come to such a pass that even the most optimistic person does not see much hope for China.

No country can progress if it is perpetually divided against itself, nor can that country's education progress. If China is to exist as a happy and prosperous nation, and if good discipline and high standards of education are to be maintained in her universities, the prevailing internal strife must be brought to an end—at any cost and without further delay.

FOLLOW DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA....

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Who's Who in China

SIMON B. CHANG, university professor and diplomatic official; born at Changsha, Hunan, June 15, 1895; joined Tungmenghui (Revolutionary league) at age of 14, 1908; sophomore, Imperial Peking University and left the University in 1911 for Russia on account of imperial order for arrest; went to Mongolia and stayed in Manchuria for underground work after outbreak of

Chang Hsi-man (Simon B. Chang)
（張西曼）

World War I: visited Siberia after October Revolution to study Soviet system; organized Society on Socialism which was later renamed as Society on Marxism during Chinese Student Movement in 1919 with Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei, Prof. Li Ta-chao and Prof. Chen Tu-hsiu, the latter two organized the Chinese Communist Party with Mao Tse-tung and others the next year, recommended to Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1922 the Three Policies (Kuomintang's union with Soviet Russia, with Chinese Communists and with Chinese peasants and workers) which resulted in the United Front of the Chinese revolutionary elements and the success of Northern Expedition in 1926-27; promoted National Sino-Russian University, 1925; refused minister post in Wuhan Revolutionary Government on account of his opposition to the split between Kuomintang and Chinese Communist Party and took up post of political adviser to government, 1926-27; member of University Council and dean of Law College of National Chungshan University, Wuchang, 1926-27; secretary, Academia Sinica, 1928; professor in politics and Russian language in Military Academy and Peking University, 1931-33; declined to accept the governorship of Hupeh and ambassadorship to Moscow on account of his disapproval of government's policy of appeasement toward Japan in 1932 and 1935 respectively; founded Sino-Soviet Cultural Association in 1935 in defiance of strong opposition by Pro-Japanese elements in the Government; member of Legislative Yuan, since 1935; after the outbreak of Mukden Incident in 1931, he demanded immediate cessation of civil war and declaration of war on Japan; advocated the united front between Kuomintang and other Chinese democratic parties and a coalition government at home and China's union with anti-Fascist Nations abroad to uproot the power of Axis and economic and cultural collaboration with the peoples of the world; now, Professor of Central University, Nanking; Institute for Research of Chinese; member of Presidium of Association of Chinese Writers and Juridical Society, and member, editorial staff, Law Magazine; address: c/o Legislative Yuan, Nanking.

The Week's Business

WHEN, during the week ending Wednesday, September 22, bankers and merchants were requested to give some information on their business transactions, the usual answer was: "Business? There has been no business to speak of."

While such statements were not surprising—for traders as well as financiers were faced by various problems—the fact is that retailers did not share the experience nor the views of wholesalers. On and shortly after September 15, workers and employees tried to "invest" their wages and salaries in all sorts of practical commodities, from cotton cloth to western-style shoes, as prices of such goods actually were not, or were only slightly above, their August 19 levels. In some lines, retailers expressed doubts as to the possibility of replacing what they had sold (at the original buying prices).

During the week under review, the Government offered for sale large amounts of shares of Government-owned and Government-run companies. So far, the results have been rather disappointing as, according to a semi-official statement, the total amount of shares sold between September 10 and September 20 was estimated at GY 3,588,900, a mere fraction of the total amount hoped to be sold.

One of the companies concerned, the China Textile Industries Inc., announced that in the future it will be operating along commercial lines "instead of red-tape, as hitherto." In a company meeting it was explained that by operating along a purely commercial line the company would establish a new reputation in the business world, arouse the interest of private investors and increase its efficiency. It was also stated that the corporation should set up an office in Hongkong of foster export trade in cotton textiles.

While businessmen were pleased to learn about the decision that the CTI will be run as a real business concern, they still expressed some doubt as to the possibility of carrying out the program. They said that just as in the case of other government-managed companies, CTI has been built up as a "red tape concern" and that to alter its fundamental character will be a very difficult job. If Government-managed companies will be put on a real business basis, they explained, this would go a long way toward normalizing the trade not only of Shanghai but of the whole of Shanghai.

To reach the goal, it was pointed out, government-managed firms should be granted no special privileges, neither in the form of credits nor of permits of any kind.

That business was by no means normal during the week under review can be grasped from the fact that the amount in checks cleared during the six days between September 13 and September 18 showed a considerable decline compared with previous months. It was no wonder, therefore, that the number and face value of dishonored checks also showed a decline; during those six days, the number of dishonored checks was 8,732 with a face value of GY 2,275,057. In view of the fact that business in general was extremely slow during the week, that amount is to be regarded as huge, particularly as the most decisive explanation usually to be heard during the years of inflation at present is out of the picture, namely, that swiftly increasing prices were responsible for businessmen issuing uncovered checks.

Market reports from abroad received in Shanghai during the week under review indicated that prices of China produce, with the exception of the London quotation for tung oil, realized declines rather than advances. While this development hampered the export trade in several fields, exporters explained that to a certain extent such price reductions are to be considered "artificial." They pointed out that quite a few importers abroad simply reduced their buying offers after being informed that prices in China had been fixed and that the Government had frozen most prices at their August 19 levels. It may take some time, exporters stated, until firms abroad will realize that matters are not quite as easy as that. Exports of feathers, leather, hog casings and textiles were reported as having been on a small scale during the past week. On the other hand, export contracts in tea were reported as favorable, with shipments for North Africa occupying first place, while business with Britain proved difficult.

Demand for China produce in New York and other American markets was small and the turnover slow.

As to domestic prices, news from the interior provinces indicated that prices of rice and tea in the producing centers showed considerable advances. In Shanghai, the market prices of first grade rice reached GY. 21.00.

Quotations

	Sept. 15	Sept. 22
	GY	GY
Wheat Four	7.12	7.61
White Rice, first	20.70	21.00
Peanut Oil	60.00	—
Raw Silk "C"	1,580.00	1,450.00
Jap. Rayon	1,333.50	1,133.00
Cot. Yn. (42)	1,015.00	707.00
Koo Pun Soap	24.00	26.30

The Review's English Lesson—L

Slang is defined in the dictionary as the jargon of a particular class in society. Originally the criminal world was the chief source of slang expressions but more recently standard English has drawn some of its most expressive terms from the semi-technical vocabularies of various trades, professions, sports and hobbies. Below we give some examples of words which originated among speakers who expressed common interests in a special and informal fashion, but which have been generally accepted in spoken English.

The development of the automobile has contributed many expressions, such as:

to step on the gas—to hurry. (stepping on the gas pedal accellerates the motion of the car).

back-seat driver—one who offers unsolicited advice. (referring to the person who sits in the rear seat of a car nervously calling the driver's attention to the approach of pedicabs, pedestrians, all of which the driver usually sees without help).

to skid—to slide or slip.

From the movies come:

a **dead-pan**—an expressionless face.

to reel off—to speak or pronounce very rapidly, as "to reel off a list of names". (referring to the manner in which a motion picture reel unwinds rapidly).

Pugilism has donated:

to side step—to evade meeting issues purposely, in the sense of stepping to one side or dodging.

a **knock-out**—something so wonderful as to be overwhelming, or stunning in its effect.

down and out—completely dejected in fortune and spirit. (after a boxer has been knocked down for the count of ten, he is "down and out" i.e., has lost the fight.

The following terms come from card games:

a **new deal**—a new regime, implying a redistribution of assets. President Roosevelt's policies were often referred to as "The New Deal". Refers to a fresh dealing of cards.

above board—honest and public, in the sense that there can be no cheating in a card game when the cards are held above or on the table, and all movements can be observed.

to finesse—to not do something, or to let something go past without interfering with it. Originally a term used in contract bridge referring to the playing of a relatively low card in order to trap a higher one held by the opposition.

put your cards on the table—openly show your motives or proposals. (as in laying the cards face up on the table where every player can see them).

have something up one's sleeve—have some concealed trick or resource to apply to a situation. A crooked card gambler often conceals aces or other useful cards in his sleeve.

force one's hand—compel one to show his strength. One player is forced to play the cards in his hand before he is ready, which frequently dissipates the strength of his hand.

catch wind of—get an intimation of. Refers to the catching of a scent by a hunting dog, or by the hunted animal.

lose track of—to cease to keep in touch with, or to cease to follow the course of. Refers to losing the scent or trail left by the hunted animal.

The political world has popularized:

to stump—to travel over, in making a political campaign, as "to stump the Eastern states". The term comes from the fact that in early days in America a tree stump often served as the platform from which a political speech was made.

wire-pulling—use of influence to attain secretly certain desired effects. This expression most often refers to politics but originated in puppetry where dolls were manipulated by wires or strings.

* * *

The following paragraphs are taken from *The Nation's Agriculture* of May 1948, and the idiomatic words and expressions are defined.

"Congress is **getting down to brass tacks** 1) on a **long-range** 2) program for farmers. In the Senate this month, hearings will be conducted on the bill introduced by Senator Aiken. On the House side, members of the Agricultural Committee, just returned from **a swing across** 3) the country **to sound out** 4) farmer sentiment on basic issues, are discussing how their own version of a long-term program should eventually shape up.

"Quite a few congressmen are becoming increasingly dubious concerning chances for passage of long-range legislation this season. They point out that the House Committee will have **to plow through** 5).

Definitions:

1) **getting down to brass tacks**—starting to work seriously. The term means to get to the crux of a matter, down to essential ingredients such as "brass tacks" that hold a thing together and give it form. 2) **long-range**—encompassing much time or space. In this instance, it means a program that will provide for the farmers for a long time in the future. 3) **a swing across**—a trip over. The word "swing" implies a movement across a surface and back, like the oscillations of a pendulum. 4) **to sound out**—to probe, to try to discover the thoughts of. "A sounding" literally is an attempt to measure the depth of something by a line and plummet. 5) **to plow through**—to peruse or go through laboriously.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Super Austerity Drive Initiated; Unrest in SE Asia Said Mounting

PRESIDENT Chiang Kai-shek made a stirring appeal to his people asking them to work hard and live frugally so as to hasten the victorious conclusion of the suppression of the Communists and to remove the last obstacle to the successful realization of the national revolution. He launched what was called a serious austerity movement for national reconstruction. This movement, it is explained, "is not only a starting point for improving social practices and effecting social reforms, but also a link in the general mobilization for the suppression of the Communist rebellion and for national reconstruction."

President Chiang stressed that "this movement is a practical step of our national reconstruction. Its mission is to rally all patriotic people to become self-reliant, self-helping and self-denying. They must lead an industrious life and influence others through persuasion, conversion and service so as to harness the social strength of spontaneity and self-control and to check the tendency of the two extremes of wealth and poverty. Eventually life at the front will move downward to the soldier's level and life in the rear to the common people's level."

According to the President, "economically, the movement aims at removing the excessive inequality through control and reduction of consumption, and at increasing production through the extension of work among most of the people and through increased efficiency . . . . Politically, the movement aims at stamping out corruption and the heightening of efficiency through hard work for the sake of production and through the practice of frugality. The total war plan must be thoroughly enforced and the nation's manpower, financial and material resources must be geared to military needs in order to fortify the fighting strength of our armed forces for a quick termination of the Communist rebellion."

As its common goal, the movement has a five-point pact:

1. Work hard for national reconstruction.

2. Be punctual and orderly.

3. Eradicate inefficiency and corruption.

4. Do away with extravagance and wastefulness.

5. Protect the farmers and industrial workers and render social service.

Political observers generally regarded this new movement as a "revised edition" of the Generalissimo's "New Life Movement" and of the Government's austerity drive initiated last year. Since the New Life Movement and the austerity drive have not produced satisfactory results, it remains to be seen how the new movement will work out in actual practice this time.

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Social Revolution

KUOMINTANG Propaganda Minister Huang Shao-ku described the new movement as a "most important revolutionary social movement designed mainly to eradicate social inequalities and push the total warfare against the Communists. He said in recent years a widening gap has been created between the rich and the poor which, together with obstacles to national reconstruction, represent the government's chief worries today. He further pointed out that social inequalities cause administrative corruption, lowering domestic production and hindering national mobilization against the Communists.

Meanwhile the Chinese Government was reported to be preparing blueprints for sweeping social and political reforms to be carried out in the near future in coordination with the emergency economic measures to achieve a complete national reorientation. The new reforms, it was understood, were mainly based on suggestions submitted by Maj.-Gen. Chiang Ching-kuo and would include the following:

1. Gradual elimination of middlemen between producers and consumers.

2. Changing the status quo of Shanghai and creating general prosperity throughout the country.

3. Clear distinction between normal industries and speculative enterprises.

* * *

Foreign Policy

THERE has been considerable speculation about possible change in China's foreign policy. Rumors have it that Nanking is going to take the initiative in rallying the various countries in the Far East into a solid front against the menace of Communism.

General Chang Chun's recent visit to Japan and his contemplated mission to countries in Southeastern Asia are generally regarded as significant straws in the wind. Passing through Bangkok on his way to Paris to attend the session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Shih-chieh significantly said that in their relationship with one another at the present moment Asiatic countries must pursue a good neighbor policy, the basic characteristics of which should be the twin principles of non-interference and non-discrimination.

So far as future relations between China and Japan are concerned, it was reported in the Chinese press that as the result of a series of talks between General Chang Chun and General Douglas MacArthur, it has been agreed in principle that Sino-Japanese trade will be expanded and that Nanking will obtain from Japan badly-needed raw materials, finished goods, and surplus war supplies. Details of the arrangements will be worked out by the United States Department of State and the Chinese Government.

It was further rumored that General MacArthur had sent a letter to President Chiang Kai-shek in care of General Chang Chun, but responsible government leaders in Nanking stoutly denied such rumors and dismissed them as "speculation." Qualified observers opined that since President Chiang had addressed a letter to General MacArthur through Chang Chun it would surprise no one if the SCAP commander should have given an answer. This would be only natural.

* * *

Unconstitutional

THE Legislative Yuan ruled as "unwarranted and unconstitutional" the declaration of martial law in Peiping following the shooting of students on July 5, 1948 and rejected a presidential request for confirmation of the emergency action taken by General Fu Tso-yi, Commander-in-Chief of government forces in North China. The vote was 304 to 2.

According to press reports, the action by the Legislative Yuan was based on general charges that the official version of the incident, already disapproved in several important aspects through actual investigation conducted by representatives of the Control Yuan, was a "gross exaggeration" of circumstances leading to the shooting. In refuting the official allegation, legislators claimed the students involved were neither armed nor Communist inspired when they sought official redress of the Peiping City Council resolution demanding their purge and concentration in army camps.

It was also argued that student demonstrations, a common occurrence

in democratic countries, should not be construed as creating a state of emergency in which the promulgation of martial law is justified.

It will be recalled that the declaration of martial law in Peiping was approved by the Executive Yuan on July 15 upon the recommendation of the Ministry of National Defense. President Chiang's message to the Legislative Yuan said that confirmation was sought in accordance with Article 39 of the Constitution, which provides that the "President may, in accordance with law, declare martial law with the approval or confirmation of the Legislative Yuan."

* * *

Red Offensive

AS has been expected for some time, bloody fighting broke out along the Peiping-Mukden Railway and in Shantung Province. In order to cut off the lines of communication of the Nationalists in Manchuria, several Communist columns launched a violent offensive against the Peiping-Mukden Railway. Several strategic centers are reported to have fallen into Red hands.

In Shantung, strong Communist units are driving on Tsinan, the provincial capital. At press time, it was reported that the Reds had completely surrounded the city, capturing the north airfield. The south airfield is still in the hands of the Nationalists, but the Reds were said to be massing powerful forces south of Tsinan.

Reviewing the war situation in Central China, General Pai Chung-hsi claimed that the Communist attempt to cross the Yangtze River from their "Kianghan military region" in Central Hupeh was totally shattered when Government forces decimated their strength and wrecked their supply depots. However, he cautioned that the remnants of the Reds in the area driven to the hills in western Hupeh are still planning to establish another springboard to cross the Yangtze River near Ichang and that the main force of Communist General Liu Po-cheng is attempting to invade the Honan-Hupeh border.

The total Communist strength in Central China, as estimated by General Pai, consisted of eight armies under the command of Liu Po-cheng in addition to some 150,000 men under Kung Tsung-chow and another 150,000 of their militia units. Although the fighting power of the rebels is no match for the Government regular troops, the General conceded that the Reds are well organized.

* * *

Army Command

IN view of the recent developments in the war situation, it is interesting to note a *Reuter's* story dated September 17 from Nanking to the effect that some members of the Legislative Yuan, at a secret session reviewing the general military situation, moved to relieve President Chiang Kai-shek of personal command over the fighting forces. A popular demand was made at the session, the story continued, for an "unequivocal military system" under which presidential intervention would be required only in the case of military strategy and policy. Under such a system, the Ministry of National Defense would assume sole responsibility for military operations and would have to answer to the Executive Yuan for its war conduct. The Executive Yuan, in its turn, would be directly responsible to the Legislative Yuan. This would enable the Legislative Yuan, it was argued, to affix blame for military failures as they occurred.

However, the *Associated Press* reported that a spokesman for the Legislative Yuan issued a formal denial of the *Reuter's* story, stressing that "although some legislators touched upon the question of military command during the discussion on the fighting in eastern Honan, no one formally moved that the present system be changed.

AP explained that criticism of Chiang's practice of taking actual operational command out of the hands of his military leaders have been voiced various times both by National Assemblymen and legislators. It was frequently charged in the past that the President "bypassed" the normal command chain and directed orders to field generals.

* * *

Unrest In SE Asia

MOUNTING unrest and serious disturbances in southeast Asia have caused considerable concern. Both London and Washington are reported to be watching the situation there with the closest possible attention.

As usual, all the disturbances were blamed on the Communists. British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin in a statement to the House of Commons openly charged that Communists, led by the Moscow-dominated Cominform, sought to wipe out all Western influence in Southeast Asia. According to his story, the plot is part of a basic Communist philosophy, and if not suppressed successfully in Southeast Asia, may break out again "in Africa or somewhere else."

"Throughout the whole of Southeast Asia," Bevin alleged, "there is a Cominform and Communists plan to drive every Western association out of territory and trade, and everything else. It is a situation we have to meet. The trouble has been going on ever since the Marxist-Lenin theory was adopted, not merely in Malaya, but elsewhere. It is part and parcel of the clash between two philosophies and will keep on breaking out wherever it can."

Offering the new Burmese Government any help Britain can give to suppress its Communists, Bevin said: "Wherever it rears its ugly head we shall use our best efforts to stamp it out. So long as it is a threat to peace there never will be any harmony in the world."

Sharing Bevin's charges, the US State Department claimed that the Communists have launched a "drive for power" in Southeast Asia under the cover of nationalist movement. Press Officer Michael McDermott described Communist operations in Asia and indirectly pinned the responsibility on the Soviet Union. He asserted that there has been a rapid increase in Communist activities in Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and Indonesia since the early part of this year and the United States is keeping a close watch on the Communist drive.

The statement issued by the State Department said: "To win support and allies in their drive for power, Communist leaders consistently have pretended to champion the cause of local nationalists and have attempted to identify Communism with nationalism in the minds of the people of the area."

Authoritative quarters in Washington were inclined to link the Communist activities in Southeast Asia with the Cominform's sworn opposition to the European Recovery Program, because, it was pointed out, many Marshall Plan countries are getting much of their economic support from their possessions in Southeast Asia.

But some political observers held that the mounting nationalist aspirations of the colonial peoples in Southeast Asia are being stifled under the cover of fighting Communism.

* * *

Soviet Move

ON the eve of the opening of the UN General Assembly at Paris, Russia made a smart move in announcing the withdrawal of its troops from Korea and in demanding immediate withdrawal of all occupation troops from Germany. A public statement issued by the Soviet Foreign Office said that Russia recognized it as "opportune to execute the withdrawal of Soviet troops from north Korea, expressing hope that the US Government would agree to a withdrawal of U.S. troops from south Korea."

American diplomatic circles expressed surprise at the Soviet move because they did not expect the Russians to withdraw until the American forces had been evacuated. US observers in Moscow called this move "primarily a propaganda maneuvre" but they admitted it had created an "entirely new situation in Korea."

According to a Russian announcement, the withdrwal of all Russian troops would begin "not later than the second half of October" and would be completed by the end of the year.

The Russian withdrawal demand in Germany is interpreted by American observers as part of a new Soviet propaganda campaign to win German sympathy and embarrass the western powerss.

The United States in both Germany and Korea, it was charged, was attempting to turn its occupation zones into colonies and military bases around the Soviet Union.

Observers believed that the Soviet demand was strategically timed to coincide with the opening of the UN General Assembly.

US Magazine Roundup

New Republic

WALTER Briggs tells how "The Chinese Criticize US Policy" in the *New Republic* for August 9, 1948. Referring in his title to US Japanese policy, Mr. Briggs says that the outcry of the Chinese merchants and manufacturers against US policy in Japan is "a logical expression of self-interest." He quotes a prominent Hong Kong manufacturer's summary of the Far Eastern businessman's fears that "Japan has already gone beyond the self-support stage and can well afford to export enormous quantities of her newly manufactured goods."

"The US," says Mr. Briggs, "is seeking to soften resistance to Japanese exports by inviting national trade delegations to Japan. The Voice of America and the US Information Service have embarked on a serious attempt to explain to the peoples of Asia our problems in Japan. MacArthur's experts insist that Japan will not stand on its own feet before 1953. Official spokesmen for the British Crown Colony minimize the Japanese trade threat. And one of them emphasized what MacArthur's economists have argued, namely that Japan, like Britain, must 'export or die'—that only by exporting goods can Japan import sufficient food to keep its 80 million population alive.

"Nevertheless, some interests throughout Asia will undoubtedly suffer from Japanese mercantile competition—cotton weavers, for example, when Japan's spindles reach prewar production. Some unemployment may occur in specific industries. But the US believes that expanded Japanese trade will benefit Asia as a whole."

Of anti-US student demonstrations, the author says: "Most of the student demonstrators are not Communists. But they yearn to help their country gain peace, prosperity and a standing among nations. This correspondent's long acquaintance, formerly as a teacher, with Chinese students leads him to believe that most of them do not realize the influence the Communists are exerting on them . . .

"Student agitation doubtless will continue. Recently some students turned back American food in protest against our Japanese policy. America cannot suppress this movement. Neither can China undertake wholesale repression, however much some party leaders might desire it.

"There is considerable evidence that the CC clique, the dominant right-wing element in the KMT, helped incite the students. This identity of action by both the extreme Right and the Left is one of the recurrent anomalies in the Chinese picture . . . Such actions apparently are motivated by a desire to share for China a proportion of US aid not going to Japan; thus further lining the insiders' pockets. In the background is official irritation at the increasing American interference in China's internal affairs, for example, the strict supervision of ECA funds."

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The Nation

YOLE Granada, who had been with the occupation forces in Japan for 27 months as a historian for the Natural Resources Division of SCAP, discusses the question "Should We Rebuild Japan?" in the August 14, 1948, issue of *The Nation*.

Pointing out that her six million Japanese farmers are the basic factor in Japan's economy, Miss Granada says: "With industry and commerce at low ebb, Japan has at present primarily an agrarian economy, and any measures to be taken must be viewed against the backdrop of agrarian problems." With only 15 million acres of arable land to support a population of 80 million, the author continues, and a population which is increasing at the rate of one million people every year, "it is easy to understand why for the past two and a half years the themes of democratization and industrial recovery in Japan have been played against the relentless counterpoint of one food crisis after another.

"Essentially, it was this dilemma which furnished Japanese militarists with their most powerful argument for aggression . . . Defeat made matters infinitely worse. First, it isolated Japan from all former outside sources of supply . . . Second, it shut off the safety valve of emigration. Third, it brought, in a period of two and a half years, an influx of almost six million repatriates who had to be fed on home-grown food . . . American food, which has made up 55 percent of all post-war imports, has spelled the difference between widespread starvation and a minimum subsistence diet."

The article mentions the fact that since the beginning of the occupation an all-out effort has been made to increase the indigenous supply of food thus reducing the need for imports, but that an acute shortage of chemical fertilizer (which was imported before the war) has made this a most difficult task. "Although agricultural production has climbed gradually since the end of the war, it is still below pre-war levels. And even if the highest pre-war production were to be equalled, there would still not be enough to keep Japanese rice bowls filled . . .

"The outlook is a little brighter for increasing the amount of arable land . . . Immediately after the surrender, a new reclamation program was started, which calls for the conversion into farms of sizable tracts formerly used for military purposes and for the improvement of several million acres of submarginal lands. Its aim is to increase the cultivated acreage by about 25 percent and to create about a million new farms. However, it is doubtful that it could be completed in less then 10 years. And in 10 years, Japan will have ninety million people.

"The inescapable conclusion is that all plans for increasing yields or the amount of arable land, although vitally necessary, are at best only palliatives. They will not solve the food problem . . . Clearly, the Japanese face an equation which does not balance: their maximum production will never equal their need. Japanese agriculture can provide only about 80 percent of the food the people require for their present low standard of living. Although Japan is not starving, thanks to American aid, the low nutrition level has been a factor in the decline of industrial efficiency, and if workers in factories and mines are to shoulder the burden of recovery, this level must be raised. That means greater imports of food in addition to all the industrial raw materials which Japan lacks. And unless American taxpayers are to foot the bill indefinitely, these imports will have to come, as they did before the war but in even greater quantities, from other countries in the Far East . . .

"Japan's ability to pay in foreign exchange when improved production methods in southeastern Asia bear fruit is the theme of most of the proposals for the revival of Japanese industry advanced by economic experts. Japan's main assets are an abundant supply of cheap labor and an industrial plant, now idle, which would allow it to become . . . 'the workshop of Asia.'"

Declaring that since the war there has been a back-to-the-land movement prompted both by restricted industrial employment in the cities and by the SCAP-inspired land reform program, Miss Granada warns that the resultant over-crowding of the rural areas has created pressing economic and special problems. Of the land reform program she says: "Equal distribution of the soil, although socially desirable as a basic step toward democratization, does not pretend to be a long-term solution for the economic plight of the agrarian masses—two and a half acres, the average size of the holding the Japanese farmer will own, is hardly enough to support a family of five." The author concludes:

"What is needed, it seems plain, is a degree of industrialialization which will provide other means of livelihood for surplus farm labor and slowly depopulate the rural areas. In other words, there must be a true, if belated, industrial revolution, following a natural course of development and geared, not to the spurious requirements of a military machine, but to the economy of the Far East."

Chinese Magazine Roundup

Observer

DISCUSSING the recent nation-wide round-up of students, Professor Chang Chih-jang, celebrated scholar and jurist, writes in the September 18 issue of the Shanghai published *Observer*, that since most of the so-called "student disturbances" were mass actions involving hundreds of thousands of youths, charges of their being managed by a handful of people or being utilized by outside influences are hardly convincing.

"Even if a mass action is really manipulated by a small minority of people it does not necessarily follow that the said action is bad or illegal. To judge the rights and wrongs of any student movement, we have to take into serious consideration the viewpoint and the objectives of the movement. If there is nothing wrong with the viewpoint and objectives, the movement is correct in spite of the fact that it is manipulated by a small number of people. And it is impossible to blame this small number of people for their manipulation because they have done nothing bad. Therefore, to describe a student movement as illegal on grounds of its being stage-managed by a small minority without bothering to find out whether the viewpoint of the movement is right does not make sense at all. For example, if a few students take the lead in pushing forward a "study-hard" movement and receive widespread response from the overwhelming majority of their fellow students, can any one possibly charge the few students with having violated the law by dominating the majority of the students?....

"For a long time, the Government has taken a series of repressive measures to cope with the student movement, and has seldom taken the trouble to make frontal criticism of the viewpoints expressed by the students. The student demonstrations to voice protest against the rape of a Chinese girl student in Peiping by American marines spread far and wide throughout the country and lasted a long time. But the Government failed to issue a single statement to say whether this protest was right or wrong. The recent student movement against American aid to Japan was the biggest student movement of the year. If this movement was justified, the year-long student disturbances would end with this bona fide drive and the Government should not have made a nation-wide round-up of students. If this movement was not justified, the Government authorities should have pointed out the mistakes at the very outset of the movement. But the fact is that up to the present the Government has not done so in this respect. Under such circumstances, the charges made are not convincing at all.

"If the Government really believed that a certain student disturbance was instigated and managed by a small minority, who were leading the majority by the nose, it would be terribly simple to deal with the matter. All the Government needs to do is to fight falsehood with truth, combat heresy with orthodoxy and show the minority in their true colors, thus awakening the majority to their folly of following their misleaders. The disturbance would die out in no time. But unfortunately, the Government has never done anything like this. It has never used argument or persuasion. Nor has it reasoned with the students. The use of force instead of reason might deal with individuals but it will never do with any large number of students. The reason is simple enough. Any use of force instead of reason is an unmistakable sign of lack of self-confidence. It only serves to make the opponent more determined to fight for what he stand for. This methods of tackling student disturbances would increase, and not weaken, the mass following of such disturbances."

Professor Chang further emphasized the fact that as citizens of the Chinese Republic, Chinese students should enjoy their civil liberties. Therefore, any arrest, detention, trial or conviction must be made according to law and such law must not be in violation of the Constitution.

Professor Chang comes to the conclusion that the mass arrests of students throughout the country was a bad business and he expresses the hope that the Government authorities will have sense enough to set the arrested students at liberty so that they may be able to complete their studies."

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Outlook

THE September 18 issue of the Nanking published *Outlook* carried an article by Chang Shao-hsien dealing with General Chang Chun's recent mission to Japan. According to Chang's story, a grand alliance between China, Japan and Korea is in the making.

Chang writes: "In spite of repeated denials by the Chinese Government, there is certainly something in prevailing talk about a China-Japan-Korea alliance under the generalship of General Douglas MacArthur. During his brief stay in Japan, General Chang Chun had conferred with General MacArthur four times behind closed doors. And on each occasion, the talk lasted three or two and a half hours. Were such talks of an ordinary social-call nature without any political significance? General Chang's talk with the Japanese Premier also lasted two hours and a half. This made people smell a rat. Suspicion in this respect was further strengthened by General Chang's broadcast statement issued to the Japanese people on September 11, in which he paid tribute to the Japanese people for the fact that "Japan is on a democratic pattern.

"An *Agence France Presse* Dispatch dated August 25 from Washington revealed that General MacArthur and General Chang Chun will make a general review of the political and military situation in the Far East and will particularly study the different aspects of what Washington regarded as the Communist menace to China, Korea and even Japan. It is further revealed that some kind of concerted action against Communism in the Far East is possible. If this story is true, General Chang Chun's visit to Japan means quite a lot.

"It is precisely for this reason that *Reconstruction* magazine, published in Shanghai, exploded, warning the Political Science Group: 'Just a word of advice. Don't you people regard the Chinese as fools. In view of what you are doing, you will be called pro-Japanese for the second time. It would be too much for you if you were convicted on two scores."

As regards the concrete contents of the much-talked-about Chinese-Japanese-Korean alliance, *News* magazine, which also is published in Shanghai, revealed that "all available war materials and production in Japan will be utilized to expedite China's suppression of the Communist rebellion and that Taiwan will be converted into a base of supply under joint Chinese-Japanese-American cooperation. This is to say that owing to the absence of stable conditions in China, it is better to establish arsenals in Japan. Such being the case it is quite possible that war supplies from Japan, the United States and Korea to aid China in quelling the rebellion may make their first appearance in Taiwan. This new story is not an official communique. The rumor is highly significant.

"Some people are of the opinion that an anti-Soviet and anti-Communist alliance between China, Japan and Korea under the leadership of the United States is taking concrete form. For instance, the *Hsin Min Pao* reported that army circles in Washington were all for increased military aid to China in exchange for the abrogation of the Sino-Soviet Air Agreement of 1939 which bars American aircraft from flying to China's western provinces. Besides, the Central Trust recently shipped 200,000 tons of iron ore from Tayeh to Japan and the ECA has granted financial aid to the Kailan Mining Administration and to the Taiwan Sugar Company for the purpose of speeding up their production to meet Japan's needs. In the opinion of *UP*, these are new trends in China's policy."

What Chinese Papers Say

CHINA'S finance and economy and the Japanese problem continued to focus the interest of editorial comment in the Chinese press last week.

* * *

Finance

DISCUSSING the question of economic control the *Ta Kung Pao* said that such control should go a step farther.

First, the government should pay attention to measures which are nation-wide in scope instead of pinning its hopes on a single city, because a nation's economy is an organic whole. "In economic and financial matters, Shanghai holds the leading position. If conditions in Shanghai are satisfactory, a favorable effect would be produced on the rest of the country. But conversely, if the conditions in other parts of the country are rotten, Shanghai would be adversely affected. For the present, the economic situation in Shanghai is comparatively satisfactory while things in other parts of the country leave much to be desired. For instance, over-supply of nickel coins in Chungking and Chengtu, the gold scandal in Kunming and Kweiyang and the chaotic economic condition in Canton serve to indicate that there was neither adequate advance consideration nor efficient control after the event.

Second, the currency reform is the main objective, the paper added, while economic control is but a means to an end. "While there is only one objective, the means may take different steps. When the first step is taken, other steps must follow immediately. In short, we should not stop where we are. Deputy Economic Supervisor Chiang Ching-kuo stressed that the economic reform is a social revolution. If the government has such a determination, then it is evident that the recently promulgated measures about currency reform are inadequate. From the economic point of view, social revolution calls for a set of revolutionary and carefully-worked-out measures concerning Government control over production and distribution. As Chiang Ching-kuo has well stated, such a social revolution cannot be brought to a successful conclusion merely by actions which give only temporary relief."

Third, as regards the surrender by private banks of their foreign exchange holdings to the Central Bank, the paper called serious attention to the activity of the government banks. "The success or failure of the currency reform hinges mainly on whether or not the money owned by the favored families can actually be turned over to the Government. It is possible that this money is surprisingly large in amount, and there can be no doubt that most of it is kept abroad. Moreover, the so-called favored families necessarily consist of only an extremely small number of people. "In capturing rebels the important point is to capture the chief. Now, the favored families are the 'chiefs.' It is better to make one family weep than to make all the families in a province weep. The favored families constitute a very small number of such "families." Since the announcement of the currency reform, the work of the Central Bank and its agents of receiving gold, silver and foreign currency notes from the public for conversion into Gold Yuan notes has been carried on in a highly satisfactory manner, and the commercial and native banks also have been turning in their foreign exchange assets to the Central Bank in a satisfactory manner. Now, if the Government fails to get back the money owned by the favored families which has fled abroad, it will have allowed the big fish to escape from the net. Moreover, it will be difficult for the Government to justify itself in the eyes of those common citizens who daily form queues waiting to have their gold, silver and foreign currency notes to be converted into Gold Yuan notes. A healthy currency reform must be accompanied by a healthy social policy, but an objective study of the Government's currency reform decree reveals that it is accompanied by practically no social policy. We could refrain from discussing Soviet Russia's currency reform measures here, but even the currency reform measures adopted by Japan after her defeat show that she understands the importance of freezing idle capital. And yet China's recently-announced currency reform does not pay any attention to this. Moreover, as a result of the turning in of gold, silver and foreign currency notes, a large amount of Gold Yuan notes have had to be issued, thus increasing the amount of idle capital and causing commodity prices to rise. This is a very unwise policy. Now, if the Government still fails to liquidate the favored families and to try to get back the capital which has fled abroad, then not only will it be difficult for it to soothe the discontent of the public, but the future of Chinese economy will also be adversely affected. If, as Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo has said, the currency reform is a revolution, the first step taken should have been to liquidate the favored families!"

The *Chien Hsin Jih Pao* stressed the importance of balancing the government's budget as the "most effective guarantee" for stabilizing the value of China's new currency.

"In spite of the recently announced currency reform," the paper editorialized, "the financial condition of the Government has not changed much. So far as income is concerned, large sections of the country are still in a state of chaos. Even if all tax rates are raised to the pre-war level or even higher, the amount of tax receipts will not necessarily be so large as it was before the war.

"As regards expenditure, there is little possibility of cutting down on it in view of the mounting military appropriations. Besides, State-owned communication services and State-operated enterprises will continue to depend upon Government subsidies. Under such circumstances, how can the Government balance its budget and make both ends meet? If deficit in the budget cannot be avoided, how can it be met? By floating bonds? The trouble is that the Government has not yet completely regained public confidence in Government bonds, so if it should float new bonds, it would not necessarily be able to achieve the desired results. By issuing more notes? This would be tantamount to dealing a heavy blow to the value of the new currency, and so must not be tried. . . .

"The current financial problem cannot be solved by increasing taxes on essential commodities, but by getting the wealthy people to contribute money as soon as possible. Even though the Government may not know who all of the more than 100 very wealthy people in the country are, yet it at least knows who most of them are. If it knows nothing about these very wealthy people, it must be said to be stupid, and if it knows who they are, but pretends not to know, it is only deceiving itself. The property tax bill will doubtless be passed at the forthcoming plenary session of the Legislative Yuan, and in order to solve its own financial problem, the Government should begin immediately to find out the amount of wealth owned by each of the very wealthy people."

* * *

Japan

THE Catholic organ *Yi Shih Pao* predicted General Chang Chun's report on Japan will have far-reaching bearing on future Sino-Japanese relations. It expressed concern that Japan is still far from being a democracy.

"Militarism has not been fully exterminated, and is indeed staging a come-back. Reactionary forces continue to exert dimly a controlling influence over various phases of Japanese life. This is the inevitable result of the policy of unilateral aid to Japan, a situation created by the lack of intimate knowledge of the Japan problem on the part of the authorities of our Allied power. Also, though the tides of Communism are being spread far and wide over the world, yet the building of an anti-Communist fortress in a rash manner to the neglect of the consolidation of the foundations of democracy will lead to disquieting consequences. A truly democratized Japan is more important to world peace than a militarily powerful Japan. The disregard of this principle will lead to the commission of a permanent error in history."

What US Papers Say

US-SOVIET relations continued to be the main theme of US press comment on foreign affairs, as the Berlin crisis moved into its final stages. Also discussed were China's currency reform, and the unity of the two major US political parties on questions concerning foreign policy.

* * *

US-Soviet Relations

A recurring theme in US press comment on relations with the Soviet Union is the danger to world peace from "miscalculations" on the part of Soviet leaders regarding conditions in other countries, particularly the United States." This line of comment attributes these errors mainly to inflexibility of Communist doctrine and to distorted reports received by the Kremlin from its emissaries and agents throughout the world. An example often cited is the apparent overestimation by the Soviets of the influence in the United States of Henry Wallace, particularly his foreign policy ideas, and underestimation of the American people's unity in support of their government's foreign policy.

Among the papers most often making these points is the *Washington Post* which today devoted a whole editorial to the subject. The editorial said in part: "The most troublesome factor in the Russo-Western dispute over Berlin is the miscalculations that the Kremlin is obviously laboring under. They are inevitable in any dictatorship, but particularly in the Soviet dictatorship. The Russians' information on what is happening in the outside world is colored by the fact that they are victims of their own propaganda that the capitalist order is bound to collapse. No Soviet emissary, indeed, would dare to report events on any other basis. For instance, progress of the Wallace campaign must take up a goodly part of the material that goes to Moscow from Soviet officials in America . . .

"On Berlin, Soviet policy has been completely out of focus. The Russians did not foresee either the Western determination to stay in Berlin or the German support of the Western position. They have stubbed their tees badly in their attempt to dragoon German opinion. Pieck, the leading Communist in Germany, is reported to have said that three weeks of the blockade have undone three years of Communist spadework in Germany . . .

"Soviet miscalculations, alas, are a prime danger to peace, for they make for irresponsibility. The sneer of the Soviet officer in the city hall that Westerners are 'afraid' may express a conviction of the Politburo. It may be thought in high quarters that intimidation is bound eventually to produce a diplomatic triumph (which the Russians, indeed, are already boasting about) because of the Western world's war-weary desire for peace. Judging from polls of American opinion, this is a complete miscalculation, yet there appears to be no way of disabusing the Soviet mind of the fixed ideas with which it is cluttered."

A *New York Herald Tribune* editorial entitled "Deadlock Over Berlin," warned that "It is no longer possible to doubt the seriousness of the Berlin struggle. Whether one puts the chances of war at 1 to 10 or 1 to 100 (and the latter estimate would still seem to be scunder) it is no longer possible to doubt that there's a chance . . .

"The situation is already grimly reminiscent of Japanese-American relations in the last months of 1941. Normal cultural and commercial relations are virtually ruptured; diplomatic negotiations have reached a deadlock; the Tulpanovs, like influential Japanese military spokesmen, are issuing inspired statements so incendiary as to prohibit any sort of reasoned solution; there are rumors of a final appeal direct to Stalin, recalling President Roosevelt's final attempt to appeal direct to the Japanese emperor. And there is background of ultimate weakness in the Russian system, as there was in the Japanese, that at least raises the question of whether the Russians dare to or are able to halt . . ."

* * *

China Currency Reform

A *New York Herald Tribune* editorial, commenting on the new Chinese currency reform measures, said recently:

"Many reforms have been made on paper by the government of China during the last few years but only on rare occasions have any been carried out in practice. In some cases there have been good reasons for the failures to translate words into deeds. In others it has seemed that officials were content to ignore realities as long as they had documents to display indicating they had passed laws or issued regulations or made plans.

"The present currency reform in China, however, seems to be accompanied by a serious effort at enforcement. Those who violate the new currency regulations and price controls are being arrested. Police are not only taking into custody offenders who lack influence in high places, but are arresting government officials, men of wealth, men who are heads of large business establishments and even men who are related to close friends of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Some of the orders for arrests were issued by the Generalissimo's son, Major General Chiang Ching-kuo and must have been approved by the Generalissimo himself. This indicates that currency reform in China will not be merely another reform on paper, but will be made effective if it is within the Generalissimo's power to do so."

US Party Unity

THE statement issued by Senator Vandenberg Friday reaffirming the fundamental agreement among Republican and Democratic party leaders on US foreign policy is being quoted with emphatic approval in the editorial columns of US newspapers. Editorials cite the statement as a particularly timely notice to Soviet leaders and others abroad that the bipartisan approach which has been developed on foreign affairs will not be affected by the forthcoming US election campaign. In commenting on the Vandenberg statement, many editorials point out the differences between the US system, based on existence of political opposition, and the Soviet system, where any opposition is automatically deemed treasonable.

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* said in part: "There will be some heat and clamor in this presidential campaign. In all likelihood, Dewey will criticize vigorously certain aspects of the handling of foreign affairs by the Truman administration. But Russian dictators should take at full value the admonition of the Republican party leadership not to be misled by our political campaign at home and that 'regardless of political differences America is united to protect American rights everywhere and to seek peace with justice for ourselves and other peace-loving peoples of the world.'

"An understanding of a political battle such as that now steaming up in this country may be over the heads of Stalin and company. They meet opposition and criticism with ruthless repression. There is no opposition political party in Russia. There are no opinions save those laid down by the Politburo—and woe to the Russian' citizen who would dare to hold otherwise . . . Adolph Hitler misunderstood the apparent differences in this country in grave hour. He misunderstood our political quarrels. He miscalculated the importance of the noise made by isolationists. He misunderstood America."

The *New York Herald Tribune* said in part: "It is always difficult for leaders of totalitarian countries to grasp the American concept of unity . . . Stalin and his advisers will be doing themselves a great disservice if they make no effort to understand the American concept of unity. The great majority of Americans are voluntarily united on the fundamentals of foreign policy, and in this unity they feel themselves strong enough to permit a voice like Wallace's to wander abroad in the land and not to worry too much about who listens. There is infinitely greater strength in this kind of unity than in that which is enforced by an army of police."

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

China Problem Guide

THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA, *by John King Fairbank. Published under the auspices of the American Foreign Policy Library by the Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1948. 384 pp. $3.75. Reviewed by CHK.*

In a period when US Far East policy is in a dilemma and with the possibility that the United States will become more deeply involved in China than ever before, the publication of Professor John K. Fairbank's book, "The United States and China," is very timely.

This book, despite its title, does not deal solely with the relations between the US and China; it is mainly a survey of China, her people, her history, her culture, her economy, her political and social institutions, and America's concern with them. It is an intelligent man's guide to the entire Chinese problem, for the American policy-makers and also for the common people.

Professor Fairbank is a person who can write on China with real competence. His seven years experience in China covers three periods: several years of teaching in Tsinghua University, Peiping, in pre-war days, and two other periods; in Chungking during the wartime and in Shanghai after the war, while he was connected with the United States Information Service.

The scholarly and semi-official character of these jobs did not limit him from wide contacts with the Chinese people. People who had talks with him were often impressed by his good command of the Chinese language and his sympathetic understanding of the Chinese problem.

It is with such a background that John Fairbank set to work on this book. To cover the entire field of Chinese history and the Chinese people in a 300-400 page volume is an almost impossible task, so the author chooses to indicate in this book some of the major currents which now form the tide of social change in China. "Without plunging into minute historical detail," he says, "I have tried to summarize the major patterns of thought and conduct, the major political and economic forms, which China's long past has ingrained in Chinese society, and to show their relations to the current Chinese scene."

Without being over-burdened by too many historical facts, John Fairbank's book is made easy reading for the common people by his simplicity of style and his clearness in analysis. Trying not to be dogmatic, the author's treatment of facts on China is well-balanced. With no glamor of style which characterizes most of the writing by American journalists on China, his interpretation of the Chinese situation shows a combination of cool-headed objectivity and deep insight. Some people may feel that Fairbank's discussion of American policy toward China is marked by too much cautiousness, but many Americans should take note of his warning that wishful thinking, subjectivism, sentiment, and plain ignorance will commit the United States to the same failure as that encountered by the Japanese in the last several decades.

American policy toward China "must take full account of China's own process of social change." It is with such a view that the author devotes 12 chapters of his book to the survey of facts on China and only two—the beginning and the concluding chapters—to the discussion of American policy towards China.

In summarizing China's historical facts and in the survey of China's social, economic and political development, Professor Fairbank shows remarkable scholarship. As pointed out by Owen Lattimore in a review of this book which appeared in *The Nation*, Professor Fairbank's attack on the socio-economic-political complexity of the Chinese problem seems to have been strongly influenced by the new approach held by several groups of Chinese social scientists, and Fairbank himself also represents a slowly growing school of social scientists in the United States. In his new approach the author sees the Asiatic half of mankind as entering upon an era of change which the West has precipitated but which the West cannot control. "As a nation," he advocates, "we (the Americans) must develop a new understanding and new policies toward the revolutionary process now at work among Asia's peasant masses."

To predict that the Chinese economy will go socialist does not mean that Professor Fairbank favors Communism. While he criticizes much of the Kuomintang's corruption and political reaction, he criticizes the Communists only a little less. In order not to be dogmatic, he even goes so far as to avoid the term feudalism and touches very lightly on imperialism. In fact, it is not only the Marxists, but also the Kuomintang theorists and other students of current Chinese problems, who believe that both feudalism and imperialism are the two stumbling blocks in China's development towards industrialization, democracy and national independence.

The reviewer is inclined to believe that so far the Chinese Communists have succeeded through its land reform program in destroying the last vestiges of feudalism; but in the process of industrialization new problems will arise, and the Communists will have to make alliances with the progressive bourgeois parties under new circumstances. The development of industralization in China will have to go through a long stage, and there is only the slightest possibility of a Communist dictatorship in the foreseeable future.

Professor Fairbank is right in pointing out three things in China's future; first, that Chinese nationalism will continue to develop; second, that democracy in its American form cannot be directly transplanted to China; and third, that the spread of modern technology and industrialization will inevitably change Chinese political institutions for good or ill. He is against America playing the role of an interventionist in China, but advocates that the Chinese be left free from outside domination to decide their own political fate.

Much could be written about United States policy toward China but the author chooses to be general and suggestive. "We must support in China those social and economic developments which will really appeal to the Chinese people. Support of the political *status quo* will not save our position. We must compete for the ideological leadership of revolutionary social change." These few lines will serve as the touchstone for the success or failure of any American move in China in the future.

Man's Heritage

OUR PLUNDERED PLANET, *by Fairfield Osborn. Published by Little, Brown and Company, New York, 1948. $2.50. Reviewed by M.T.K.*

This is a very readable little volume which relates the story which is in itself quite old but still a story so little regarded in actual practice that this book should be made available to every schoolboy and schoolgirl in the world.

It also could very well be placed before every legislator in the world. For it is the story of how while the earth's population continues its steady increase, man continues to ravage the earth by cutting down its forests and letting its soil wash and blow away.

In one region after another, man deprives himself and his children of the natural basis of adequate sustenance. There is some hope, for conservation has been discovered and is applied here and there. But even conservation must maintain itself in its continual struggle against immediate interests and carelessness. Unless mankind does better than at present only desert and jungle shall inherit the earth.

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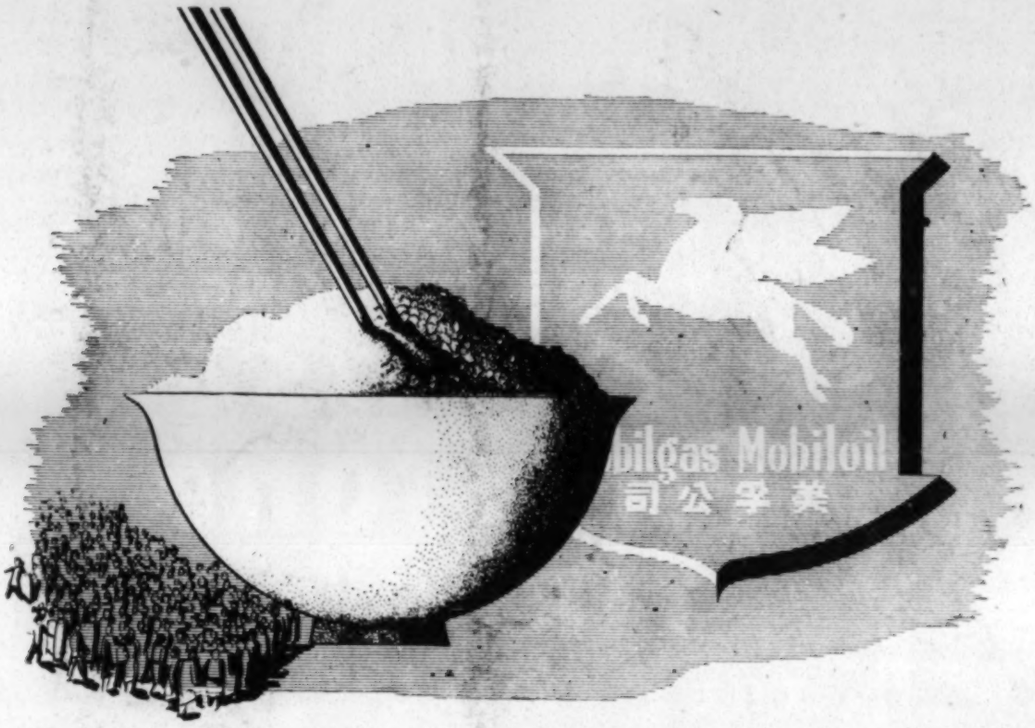

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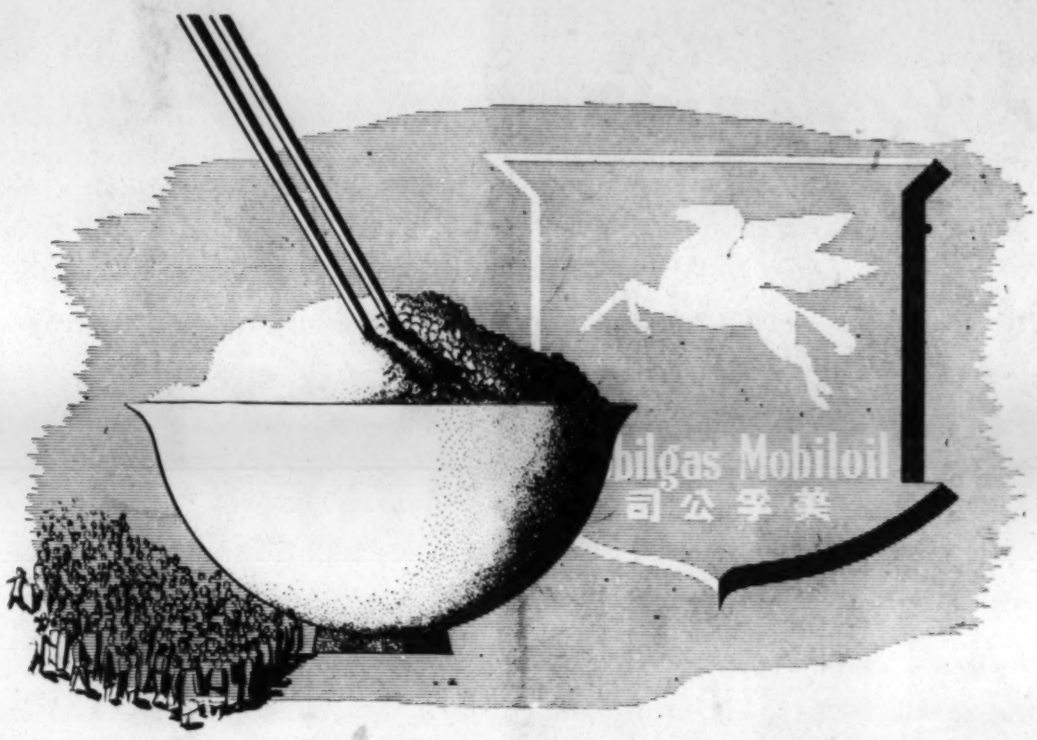

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